A VOYAGE TO THE EAST-INDIES;

BEGAN in 1750;

With OBSERVATIONS continued till 1764;

INCLUDING

Authentic Accounts of the MOGUL Government in general, the Viceroyalties of the DECCAN and BENGAL, with their ſeveral ſubordinate Governments under their reſpective Nabobs, and independent States;

Particularly thoſe of

ANGRIA, the MORATTOES, and TANJOREANS.

OF THE

RELIGIONS in INDIA; the MAHOMEDAN, GENTOO, and PARSEES.

Miſcellaneous Cuſtoms; and general Reflections on the

TRADE OF INDIA.

OF THE

EUROPEAN Settlements, particularly the ENGLISH Preſidencies of BOMBAY; MADRASS, or Fort St. GEORGE; and CALCUTTA, or Fort WILLIAM; with their reſpective Factories: Their Government, Trade, Fortifications, and public Buildings.

The Riſe of the WAR in INDIA between the ENGLISH and FRENCH in 1754; and the Continuance thereof to the Concluſion of the General PEACE of EUROPE in 1763.

Illuſtrated with VIEWS drawn on the Spot.

By JOHN HENRY GROSE.

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A GLOS-

A

GLOSSARY, OR EXPLANATION,

OF

PERSIAN, MOORISH, and INDIAN Names mentioned in this WORK.

A.

Amdanny,	IMPORTS.
Arzdaſht, or Argee,	A petition.
Aſſammees,	Dealers in different branches of trade.

B.

Bang,	An intoxicating juice of a vegetable.
Banka Bazar,	Formerly the Oſtend factory.
Batta,	An extraordinary allowance to the army in the field, or where garriſon proviſions are ſcarce.
Begum,	Princeſs; meaning without care.
Betel,	A leaf, ſomewhat like that of a kidney-bean, growing on a vine in the ſame manner, and commonly uſed by all degrees of people; who chew it mixed with Chinam and the Betel-nut, which is the produce of a different plant.
Bootans,	The inhabitants of Aſſam.
Bramin,	A prieſt.
Buckſerrias,	Foot-ſoldiers, whoſe common arms are only ſword and target.
Buckſhee, or Buxey,	Treaſurer to the Mogul, or paymaſter of troops.
Bundar,	A Cuſtom-houſe.

C.

Cawn, or Khan,	A title of dignity.
Chinam, or Chunam,	Lime, fine and unſlacked.
Chop,	A ſmall ſeal, on which is engraved the name of the Mogul, and the year of the Hegyra.

Choultry,

Choultry, An open houſe for all travellers.
Chout, A fourth part; but commonly uſed for the tribute exacted by the Morattoes.
Chowkeys, Or Chokeys, Barriers or turnpikes; or the guards at the ſtairs, or landing-places.
Chubdaar, An uſher.
Circar, See Sircar.
Coffres, or Caffres, Negroes brought to India from Africa, and trained up as ſoldiers by the Europeans.
Colleries, Inhabitants of the woods, under the government of the Polygars.
Cooley, A porter, or laborer of any kind.
Corore, or Crore, Of rupees, an hundred lack, or near 1,250,000 l. ſterling. See lack.
Coſs, or Corſe. A meaſure of diſtance from two miles to two and half.
Coſſid, A foot-meſſenger, or poſt.
Cowle, A protection.

D.

Dawgahs, Or Darugahs, Cuſtom-houſe officer, or collectors.
Decoyt, A robber.
Dewan, King's treaſurer.
Dewanny, Superintendency over the royal revenues.
Dooley, A woman's chair, like a ſedan.
Dummadah, A river.
Durbar, The court, or council, of a Mogul prince.
Duſſutary, An impoſt of ten per cent.
Duſtuck, An order.

F.

Firman, Or Phirmaund, A patent ſigned by the Mogul; a royal mandate, or grant.
Fouzdar, Fowj'dar, Or Phouſdar, A governor, military officer, or renter.

Gentoo,

G.

Gentoo, or Zentoo,	Native Indians, who remain in a ſtate of idolatry.
Gomaſtah,	A broker, factor, or agent.
Gunge,	Grain-market.
Gwallers,	Carriers of Palanquins.

H.

Hackeries,	Carts or coaches drawn by oxen.
Harkarahs,	Spies.

J.

Jageer, Jaghire,	Or Jaqueer, A territory or diſtrict, granted as a mark of honor, or allotted as a penſion.
Jaggernaut,	The Gentoo pagoda.
Jemidar, Jemmautdaar, or Zemidar.	Officers of horſe or foot, of the ſame rank with the Roman centurion: ſometimes it implies people of rank employed about the principal perſons in the government.

K.

Khan,	See Cawn.
Killedar,	The governor of a fort.
Kiſtbundee,	Times of payment of the country revenues.

L.

Lack of rupees,	About 12,500 l. ſterling. See Corore.

M.

Mackulka,	An obligation with a penalty annexed.
Maund,	A groſs weight between 70 and 80 pounds: but variable in different places; for at Sûrat it is only 37 pounds one half.
Moonſhee,	Or Mooníkee, A Perſian ſecretary.
Mooriés,	Writers.

Moors,

Moors,	The Mahometans of India; but they are improperly ſo denominated.
Muchulcas,	Bonds of obligations.
Muſnud,	The throne of an Indian Prince.
Muxadabad, Muckſadabad,	Or Moorſhadabad, The capital of Bengal.

N.

Nabob, or Navob,	A governor of a province, appointed by the Soubah. See Soubah.
Naib, or Neabut,	A deputy to the governor of a place.
Nobut,	A drum, or mark of royalty aſſumed by the Soubahs of Bengal.

O.

Omrahs,	Privy-counſellors to the Mogul, and men of the firſt rank in the empire.

P.

Paddy,	Rice in the huſk.
Paddy-grounds,	Rice-fields.
Pagoda,	An Indian temple.
Pagoda,	An Indian coin, worth ſeven ſhillings and eight pence ſterling.
Palankeen,	A kind of canopy-bed for travelling.
Paragana,	A diſtrict of country.
Parſees,	Worſhippers of fire.
Patamar,	A meſſenger, or poſt.
Peons,	Foot ſoldiers armed with a broadſword, or a match-lock.
Pergannahs,	Villages.
Perwannah,	A letter, order, or command; and ſometimes a grant from the prince.
Pettah,	The town ſurrounding an Indian fort.
Phirmaund, Phouſdar.	See Firman and Fouzdar.
Podor, or Shroffs,	A money-changer.
Polygar,	The Lord of a diſtrict.
Pondary, Foorea,	Farmers diſtinct allowances on grain at the Gunge.

Ponſways,

Ponſways, Guard-boats.
Pettahs, Grants.
Pykes, Officers relative to the ſervice of the lands.

R.

Raja, The higheſt title claimed by the Gentoo princes.
Royran, The king's officer for receiving the revenue.
Rafftanny, Exports.
Rumnah, Diſtrict for the royal game.
Rupee, or Roupee, A ſilver coin, about two ſhillings and five pence ſterling.

S.

Saneds, or Sunnuds, Grants, or commiſſions from the Mogul, Soubahs or Nabobs.
Sardar, An officer of horſe.
Seapoys, or Sepoys, Indian foot ſoldiers, hired and diſciplined by Europeans.
Seer, A meaſure, forty of which is a Maund. See Maund.
Shroff, A banker. See Podor.
Siccas, Coin of the country.
Sircar, A general name for the government, or perſons concerned in the adminiſtration.
Sirpah, A rich dreſs of the country, beſtowed by the government as a mark of diſtinction on particular perſons.
Soubah, Soubahdar, Or Suba, The viceroy of the Deckan, or of Bengal.
Sunnuds, See Saneds.

T.

Tank, A pond, or pool of water.
Tanka, The revenue appropriated by the Mogul for maintaining a fleet at Surat.
Tankſal, A mint for coinage.

Telinga,

Telinga, Telingas,	The Carnatic country; and soldiers raiſed there, or ſepoys, ſometimes called Tellingas.
Tom-Toms,	Drums.
Topaſſes,	A tawney race of foot ſoldiers, deſcended from Portugueſe marrying natives; and called Topaſſes; becauſe they wear hats.
Tunkahs,	Aſſignments upon lands; or rents aſſigned to the company.
Tuzſaconna, Ginanah,	Wardrobe and ſeraglio.

V.

Vakeel, or Vaqueel,	An Engliſh agent or reſident at the Nabob's court: alſo an agent or miniſter for the Moors.
Vizerut,	The grant for the Vizirſhip.

Z

Zemin,	Ground.
Zemindary,	An officer to take care of the rents ariſing from the public lands.
Zentoo,	See Gentoo.

THE

A

VOYAGE

TO THE

EAST-INDIES.

BOOK I.

The Author's voyage from ENGLAND *to* BOMBAY.

CHAP. I.

Voyage from the Downs *to* Johanna. *Account of ſome ſea-fiſh: the flying-fiſh; bonitos; albacore; dorado; ſhark; ſucking-fiſh; pilot-fiſh; yellow-tails. Account of ſome ſea-birds; the tropic-birds; albatroſſes; noddies; and boobies. Account of a water-ſpout.*

IT was in the ſtation of a covenant ſervant, and writer to the Eaſt-India company, that, in the month of March 1750, I embarked on board one of the company's ſhip's, named the Lord Anſon, Charles Foulis, commander, bound for Bombay and China; at the former of which places, I was to be left under the diſpoſition of that preſidency.

By ſuch as are on the point of commencing travellers, on the ſea, eſpecially upon a voyage, in which ſo long intervals occur between land and land, the following general hint will not, I hope, be thought impertinent. They will then certainly find their account, in framing, before they are embarked, a liſt of ſuch neceſſaries, as they may probably want in the courſe of the paſſage, concerning which, they will do well to take the advice of ſuch as have been the like voyage before, and who, by their own knowledge and experience, will be beſt qualified to inform them, not only of the moſt material requiſites, but even of ſundry little items, which to name here might ſeem trifling, and of which the miſs however is ſerious, when out at ſea, where it is not often eaſy to repair one's improvidence.

Another caution, too, as trite a repetition as it may appear, I am induced not to omit re-inculcating, for having obſerved it commonly neglected: and that is, for ſuch as have reaſon to apprehend the ſea-ſickneſs, not to go on board with a full ſtomach: not that even, by this means, ſuch as are liable to it, will wholly eſcape it; but ſo much is certain, that they will be affected in a leſs violent degree. And when under the influence of it, as it is neceſſary to eat and drink, not only to ſupport nature, but to avoid the dangers of over-ſtraining and reachings of an empty ſtomach, the lighteſt, and moſt digeſtible foods, are the moſt preferable.

On the 30th of March 1750, we ſailed out of the Downs, in company with four Eaſt-Indiamen; but as there nothing occurs material to be remarked of theſe our conſorts, ſome of whom ſoon after parted company, I ſhall ſay no more of them.

We were then ſoon out of ſight of Britiſh land, and got into the main-ocean; and as it could

could be but tiresome to the reader unversed in navigation, and superfluous for one who understood it, to be detained by a dry uninteresting journal of winds, courses, and the like common occurrences at sea, I shall only offer those points which are of a more general nature, to the curiosity of the reader: and even then have an apology to make for the unavoidable repetition of descriptions, with which a number of travellers, who have preceded me in this subject, seem to have exhausted it. All the novelty then that can possibly be expected, in a voyage now so common and well known, must arise from the different points of view, in which nature presents the same objects to different persons, or at least often, so as to afford some new light to be thrown upon them.

As the fishes then form no small part of the entertainment, in the course of the passage, I shall begin with them, just premising, that besides the usual tackle of lines, and hooks of all sizes, there are no ships on those voyages, but are equipped with a competent number of harpoons or fish-gigs. This is a long staff, armed at one end with a cluster of well tempered iron prongs, which being barbed hinder the fish, on being struck with it, from flouncing off. The other end is heavily cased, or wrapped round with lead, so that when delivered from the striker's hand, with a line to it that runs the length of the staff, it serves, by its weight, to cant the fish upmost, in a position the most favorable to bring it on board.

The flying-fish, are most generally seen within the tropics, or in the latitudes near them. Their size is, commonly speaking, that of a large herring, to which they have some resemblance. The over-proportioned size of their side-fins, countenance very clearly the opinion of their being assisted by them, in the spring they make out of the

water, on being purſued by the larger fiſhes of prey; as thoſe fins continuing ſpread muſt naturally gather ſome air. But I much doubt, whether what is called their flight is not more properly an extended leap (like that of the flying-ſquirrels on ſhore, to whom the expanſion of a membraneous fold, that makes part of the ſkin of their hind legs, ſerves for a kind of wings) and that their neceſſity of replunging into the water, is not ſo much owing to their fins drying, in ſo ſhort a ſpace as 25 or 30 yards, and requiring wetting afreſh, as to the force of their ſpring being ſpent. There are many fiſh, beſides them, that take very conſiderable leaps out of the water, though not of ſuch a length as they do, from their ſide-fins not being ſo well adapted for a continuance of a motion compounded of flying and leaping. So far is certain, that they have no guidance from their ſight, but are urged headlong onward by a mechanical impulſe, inſomuch, that they not unfrequently fall into ſhips, and eſpecially in the chains, which being lower than any part of the gunnel, ſtop, and receive them. They are a very well-taſted fiſh, and often ſeen in great ſhoals, flying from the purſuit of the Bonitos, Albacores, and Dorados, whoſe choice prey they ſeem to be, very few of thoſe fiſhes being caught, without ſome of them being found in their ſtomachs, and accordingly the beſt baits for thoſe ſpecies are an imitation of the flying-fiſh, which being ſwung to-and-fro, repreſent their flight, ſo as to deceive and bring them greedily to the hook. Nor does this fiſh find enemies only in its own element; for ſeveral ſea birds, watch hovering for its emerſion, and dart down on it, with ſuch quickneſs, as to make it their prey, before its re-plunge, ſo that it ſuffers a fatal perſecution in both elements.

It was not till about the latitude of thirty, that we ſaw and caught ſeveral Bonitos, a fiſh of the ſize of a middling ſalmon, to which it is not unlike, but rather thicker for its length. This fiſh undoubtedly takes its name, from its reliſhing ſo well to the taſte of the Portugueze, the firſt navigators on this ocean, that they called it Bonito, which anſwers in our tongue to delicious. Not that, in effect, it is remarkably ſo; but very probably, was ſo welcome to the firſt captors of it, perhaps on the dearth of freſh meals, that they honored it with that appellation, which has continued to it ever ſince. It is a very firm, and not unpleaſant fiſh; but rather dry, and requiring a rich ſauce, to entitle it to its name: though dryneſs is a reproach that in ſome degree belongs, generally ſpeaking, to thoſe ſpecies, that may properly be called ocean-fiſh: to which it is no contradiction to obſerve, that they are ſometimes taken near the land. The Bonito feeds upon all ſmall fiſh, eſpecially the flying-fiſh, with the imitation of which they are often caught, and often ſtuck with the fiſh-gig.

The Albacore, is another fiſh of much the ſame kind as the Bonito; but grows to a larger ſize, ſome being taken eſpecially by the hook, from ſixty to ninety pounds weight and upward. The name of this fiſh too is taken from the Portugueze, importing its white color. They are rather drier eating than the Bonito. For the reſt, their prey, and method of catching them is the ſame, and both are at certain ſeaſons infeſted with a worm, that makes them in an agony ſpring out of the water, ſo high as to fall into boats, when in the way of their leap.

With reſpect to the Dorado, it may be obſerved how difficult it is, for an appellation, when once fixed, however wrongfully applied, to be

ſhaken off, or corrected. It is no new, but certainly a juſt remark, that this fiſh is very improperly called a Dolphin, having not the leaſt reſemblance to the deſcription, or delineation of that fiſh, by authors, painters, or ſtatuaries. The Portugueze, however, gave it the name of Dorado, from its golden-like hue, which is the groundwork of a beautiful azure, that is blended with it: and, in truth, nothing can be imagined of a more lively gloſs than its colors, which however, on the fiſh being taken, fade off ſenſibly in a few minutes, adding one more ſtriking inſtance of the alterations produced by death in all the animated creation. This fiſh, which is caught exactly in the ſame manner as the Bonitos, or Albacores, their food being the ſame, is generally greatly preferred to them, in point of taſte. Their ſize is commonly about three or four foot, and delicately ſhaped; except that the head ſeems rather too large; though the chief bone of it, on diſſection, appears admirably modelled for a cut-water; and, indeed, they ſwim with an inconceivable rapidity.

Having however, as I conceive, very juſtly diveſted the Dorado of the appellation of Dolphin, the point is where to place it more properly: and I apprehend, that the fiſh now called Porpoiſes can only lay claim to it. Some however deny this, and inſiſt on the dolphin being a creature of the imagination, not only on the account of the fabulous properties, attributed to it by the antients, ſuch as taking the famous muſician Arion on its back, its tameneſs, and likings to human ſociety, of all which diſtinctions there exiſt at preſent no traces; but alſo in reſpect to the curve form, it, as preſerved in paintings and ſtatues, being different from the porpoiſe, which when taken, appears as ſtraight a fiſh as any that ſwims.

Without preſuming to decide the queſtion, I can only ſay, that it can hardly be thought, that ſo many authors would have treated ſo currently of a ſpecies entirely non-exiſtent, however ſome of them might mix the falſe and marvellous in their accounts of it: and as to the form, the difference ariſing from the curvature, is probably owing to its being conſtantly repreſented in the point of leaping, when either the eye is deceived by the quickneſs of the tumble, or the porpoiſe really bends the body, in a manner anſwerable to the uſual delineation of the dolphin, which, with the ſimilar projection of the ſnout from the head, ſeem to authorize in ſome degree the conjecture of the porpoiſe, being no other than the dolphin of the antients; at leaſt, it is not ſo thoroughly different from the repreſentation of it, as the dorado, the ſize of which beſides is much too ſmall, for its having any pretenſion to paſs for it.

THE ſhark, which is ſo common a fiſh near the land in ſeveral parts of the lower latitudes, is not unfrequently met with in the main-ſea; but then it is chiefly in calms, or very light breezes, when it will follow a ſhip for a conſiderable time, unleſs betrayed to the hook by its natural voracity: for it is commonly too large to be maſtered by a harpoon, or fiſh-gig. Any thing almoſt for a bait will ſerve; but it requires a ſtrong hook to hold it; and thoſe of the larger ſize, the nooſe of a running-tackle to bring them on board: where, as ſoon as they touch the deck, they make all ſhake again with the violent flounces of their tail, capable of breaking a man's leg: yet they are preſently ſubdued by a cut of the ax on it, which deprives them inſtantly of all power, ſo that they are ſoon diſpatched. The common length of this fiſh is from nine to fifteen feet; but I have been credibly informed, there are ſome of them of

twenty feet and upwards. It has no ſcales. The ſkin of it is rather rough, like ſhagreen, than very hard; of a deep brown, and ſomewhat greeniſh color, and whitening by degrees to the belly. One of them will generally make a meal for the whole ſhip's company; but then they are the ranker, in proportion to their ſize, and at beſt afford an indifferent repaſt: the fins only excepted, which though covered with a ſkin hard enough to be uſed as a ſlate to write on, when jerked, or dried in the ſun, afford however when prepared, according to the Chineſe cookery, a very delicate diſh. They cut them out in ſtrips, or rather filaments, which when ſeaſoned in their manner, are ſtewed into a tender griſtly ſubſtance, extreamly well-taſted, and is by them eſteemed one of thoſe rare provocatives to venery, that at once ſtimulate and ſtrengthen.

This fiſh muſt however have been much more effectually the terror of the ſeas, had nature endowed it with an agility, and diſpoſition of parts, anſwerable to that of its voracity, which is ſo eſpecially aſſiſted with a dreadful triple row of teeth, as ſharp as razors. But, beſides its not being the ſwifteſt ſwimmer, its mouth, by being placed conſiderably within the projection of its ſnout, towards the belly, obliges it to turn on its back, or at leaſt ſideways to ſnap at its prey, which it does ſo heavily, that good ſwimmers will, with a knife, either for diverſion, or for the ſake of ſhewing their ſkill, attack it in its own element, and diving under the belly, where the ſkin is very ſoft, rip it open, or oblige it to ſheer off. How they engender cannot be aſcertained; but it is certain, that the females are not only viviparous, the young ones being found alive in their bellies, when taken, but they occaſionally afford them a retreat in it, until they out-grow the ſize of wanting one.

There

There is alſo another ſort of them, called the bottled-noſed ſharks, of a dark blueiſh hue: but of thoſe I never ſaw any caught; and being looked on as not fit to eat, they are rarely meddled with, unleſs purely for ſport.

This fiſh too has, like its name-ſakes the human ſharks, on the land, its dependents, or underſuckers, as well as its ſcouts or guides to its prey.

The ſucking-fiſh then aptly enough repreſents the firſt, being a ſmall fiſh, rarely above a foot long, and often much ſhorter. They faſten upon the ſhark, by the means of an oval-ſhaped membrane of a texture, admirably adapted for that purpoſe, with which they ſtick ſo cloſe to the ſkin of the ſhark, commonly on its ſides or back, as not to part with it, even when it is taken, and no ſtrength of hands can hardly ſeparate them, if pulled againſt the grain of the ſucker; but ſliding them on forward, with the grain, they eaſily enough come off; and this force of adheſion continues whilſt there is any life in them, as may be proved on applying them to a table, or any hard ſubſtance. It doubtleſs annoys the ſhark in the nature of vermin, drawing its ſuſtenance from the ſlimy oozing of its body, whilſt it can neither ſhake it off, nor come at it to deſtroy it. The gills of it are placed in an inverted poſition, opening upwards. It is of a dull muddy ſlate color, and of no uſe for food, having neither ſubſtance nor taſte.

The other ſpecies of attendants on the ſhark, are what is called pilot-fiſh, which ſome writers have confounded with the ſucking-fiſh, though of quite a different ſpecies; being perhaps one of the beautifulleſt fiſh that ſwims: ſeldom above a foot, or a foot and a half long, ſtreaked tranſverſally with blue, and a yellowiſh brown, that have a very pleaſing effect in the water, but loſe much of their lively gloſs when taken. Theſe fiſh are ofteneſt

ſeen

ſeen in ſmall ſhoals, ſwimming immediately a-head of the ſhark, or near him. When a bait is thrown out for the ſhark, they cluſter to it, without attempting to nibble themſelves, but by their motions to and fro, ſeem to guide the ſhark towards it, from whence they derive their appellation of pilot-fiſh; when in company with the ſhark, they rarely take the ſmall hook themſelves; but when they have loſt this their conſort, or follow a ſhip, either ſingly or in ſhoals, they will then ſometimes bite, and be caught. They are eſteemed, for their ſize, the moſt delicious eating that the ocean affords, having nothing of that dryneſs reproachable to the other fiſh of it, as before obſerved.

There are alſo often caught, with the hook, or harpoon, a fiſh, called yellow-tails, from the color of that part, from one to three or four foot long. They are very eatable, but inferior in point of taſte, and beauty of color to the dorados, which they otherwiſe much reſemble in their make.

As the above-noted ſpecies of the fiſh-kind are what chiefly occur in the paſſage, I imagined, I could not without impropriety entirely omit them; and, for the ſame reaſon, ſhall juſt make a ſummary mention of the ſea-birds, that are moſt commonly obſerved in the track of this navigation.

Near, or within the tropics, as the term imports, are often ſeen what are called tropic-birds: white, of the ſize of a large hawk: with nothing remarkable but a length of feather, that proceeds from their tails.

Albatrosses, which are met with more frequent as you approach the land, are a very large bird, and from their ſize, received from the Portugueze the name of Alcatruz, or Oſtriches (having no other reſemblance to that bird) from which by corruption is derived Albatroſs. Theſe are the birds, which are the moſt cruel enemies to the flying-fiſh: and their beak is ſo ſharp, that it enables them,

them, as they dart down on the wing upon any fiſh, they ſee on the ſurface of the water, to ſcoop out a piece of it, when too large to carry the whole away.

The noddies and boobies, being of the ſize of a large duck, plainly receive their name from their ſillineſs, in ſuffering themſelves to be taken by the hand, as they perch upon the yards, or other parts of the ſhip: which cannot be from wearineſs, being web-footed. For the reſt they are too tough, and fiſhy, to be eatable.

Thursday the 10th of May, we ſaw a water-ſpout, which burſt very near us. Its firſt appearance reſembled a black ſmoak, ſomewhat in the ſhape of an inverted pyramid. This is a body of water, collected between a cloud and the ſurface of the ſea; but we had no occaſion to fire at it, which is often done to diſſipate it by the exploſion. They are ſometimes many minutes in falling, and irritate the water to that degree, as to produce a great ebullition and foam. If it burſts on the deck of a ſhip, it will go near to ſink it, with the great weight of water, with which it is pregnant: but, I believe, there are few inſtances known of ſuch an accident, this phenomenon being always in the day-time, and the danger eaſily avoided, by forcing its diſperſion, or ſteering clear of it.

Besides that, and the common incidents of land-falls in our way, we had no remarkable occurrence, unleſs that on Thurſday the 7th of June, as one Stedman, the carpenter's mate, was about ſome little jobb on one of the ſhip's ſides, and being careleſs in his hold, a large wave came ſuddenly, and waſhed him into the ſea; immediate notice of which being given to the captain, we brought to all ſtanding, and threw over a large grating, and an empty caſk, of the latter of which he luckily got hold, and the boat being expedi-

tiouſly

tiously hoisted out, and manned, they were just time enough to save him. Though he was allowed to be an excellent swimmer, the sea was so prodigiously rough, that he could scarce have kept a minute longer on the cask, without being washed off. We were going at the rate of seven knots, or miles, an hour, when this accident happened, which made the saving him a very hazardous point.

SATURDAY the 28th of July, we anchored happily in the road of Johanna, having been now near four months since our departure from the Downs.

CHAP. II.

The five COMRO *islands. Account of* JOHANNA. *View of it from the road. Boats come off, and their nature of dealing. Of the other four islands,* COMRO, MAYOTTA, MOHILLA, *and* ANGAZEJA. *Landing of the sick men for refreshment.—The town of* Johanna. *Of the founder of that government in the present family. Soil and trade. A trip into the country. The king goes on board the* ENGLISH *vessels. His subjects way of begging: their houses; diet; dress; treatment of infants; language, and religion. Their land and sea animals; their fruit. Departure from* Johanna: *and arrival at* BOMBAY.

THE view of this island to those on board-ship in the road, is of itself so extreamly pleasant, as not to need the circumstance of its being a landing-place, after so long a run, to recommend it. The hills high, and covered with evergreens down to the water's edge, and disembosoming to the sea, in a delicious valley, altogether form one of the most pleasing landscapes that can be imagined;

imagined; nature there luxuriating into a romantic wildneſs, with which the eye, if not more delighted, is at leaſt leſs apt to be ſatiated, than with the tame inſipid regularity of art.

The ſhip was no ſooner anchored, than ſurrounded with a number of canoes, hurrying on board with refreſhments of all ſorts, of the produce of the iſland; and it was humorous enough to mark the confuſion, and ſtrife, among the rowers, who ſhould get firſt to their market, the ſhip. They are ſometimes overſet, when the ſea is any thing high: but, without any danger to their perſons, being excellent ſwimmers, and loſe only their little cargoes of green-trade. Theſe canoes are moſt of them ballanced on each ſide with out-leagers, compoſed of two poles each, with one acroſs, to prevent their overſetting. They uſe paddles inſtead of oars; and make no diſtinction of head or ſtern. Their larger boats, called panguays, are raiſed ſome feet from the ſides with reeds and branches of trees, well bound together with ſmall-cord, and afterwards made water-proof, with a kind of bitumen, or reſinous ſubſtance. The maſt, for few have more than one, carries a ſail or two, which is made either of coconut leaves, or ſheer-graſs matted together; and in theſe boats they will venture out to ſea, for trips of three or four weeks, and ſometimes longer.

It was common, not many years ago, for the natives who came off with refreſhments to the ſhips, ſuch as freſh coconuts, plantains, fowls, goats, &c. to deal entirely by way of barter, for handkerchiefs, rags, glaſs-bottles, bits of iron, in ſhort, all ſorts of frippery, without any reſpect to money. But of late they begin to know its value; and it is only the moſt inconſiderable articles, that they will now part with, in that manner; yet they

they ſtill afford every thing cheap enough, not to be repined at.

JOHANNA is one of the five Comro iſlands, which take their name from the largeſt iſland Comro, the other four being diſtinguiſhed by the names of Mayotta, Mohilla, Angazeja and Johanna. This laſt lies in the latitude of 12 degrees, fifteen minutes ſouth: all of them oppoſite to the African ſhore, between which, and the great iſland of Madagaſcar, is formed what is called the Mozambique-channel, from Mozambique a ſmall iſland belonging to the Portugueze, where they have a very conſiderable ſettlement, cloſe upon the continent, in the latitude of 14 ſouth.

COMRO, the largeſt iſland, is not at all frequented by the Europeans; becauſe it has no ſafe harbor, or roadſtead to it: beſides, the natives have the character of a barbarous, untractable people, that will ſuffer no commerce with ſtrangers. Perhaps too, not without reaſon: as it was common for the Portugueze eſpecially, in the early times of their navigating thoſe ſeas, to take the advantage of the ſimplicity of the inhabitants, unacquainted with arms, and incapable of defence, and land parties out of their veſſels, to rob, and commit all manner of outrages on the natives, not unfrequently carrying them away ſlaves; a procedure, which may have given them a traditional averſion to, and jealouſy of all ſtrangers in general: and very probably the revenge they might thereon take on the next comers, without diſtinction of the innocent, may have gained them that inhoſpitable character, which is to this day continued to them.

MAYOTTA, Mohilla, and Angazeja, are alſo little reſorted to, on account of the ſuperior advantages of Johanna, in the ſafety of its roadſtead; which, joined to the more civilized diſpoſition of its

its inhabitants, have nearly engroſſed the cuſtom of the Europeans touching there for refreſhments.

On a ſhip's arrival, and anchoring on the weſt ſide of the iſland, where the road is; it is the common practice to pitch a tent aſhore, made of the ſails and ſpare-booms, for the reception of the ſick, who, though never ſo much diſabled with the ſcurvy, generally recover their health ſurprizingly quick; as much doubtleſs by the ſpecifically reviving influence of the earth itſelf, as even by the variety of excellent refreſhments, with which the country abounds, as oxen, goats, fowls, fruits, all admirable in their kinds, and the freſh water perfectly good. The danger is for the common ſailors, who arrive well and in health, leſt they ſhould by their intemperance, eſpecially in the raw fruits, contract, or lay foundations for diſtempers to break out when they get to ſea again.

It has been ſaid, that the lying aſhore is prejudicial, on account of the moiſt vapors diffuſed from the neighboring hills: but I rather think the unwholſomeneſs to conſiſt chiefly in the inſufficiency of the lodgment under a tent, to reſiſt the keenneſs of the night air, and the damps of the atmoſphere, riſing directly from the earth itſelf. This I ſubmit to the judgment of the phyſicians.

From the ſpot where the tents are pitched, is about a mile's walk along ſhore, to what is called the town of Johanna, to come at which you croſs over a ſmall rivulet, very near it. This town, or more properly ſpeaking, village, is compoſed of about two hundred houſes and huts together. Thoſe which being of ſtone, may perhaps deſerve the name of houſes, belong to the chief, who is honored with the title of king of Johanna, and to the principal men of the country. Their beſt buildings, at leaſt all that I ſaw, are but of one ſtory, and even thoſe very low. They ſuffer ſtrangers

gers to come in familiarly to their firſt apartment, all the others being reſerved for their families. The houſe where the king reſides is built of ſtone and mud, and does not make a figure ſuperior to a common Engliſh alms-houſe, being wretchedly furniſhed, aukwardly hung with pieces of coarſe chintz, with here and there a ſmall trumpery looking-glaſs. Yet with all this inferiority of parade and ſtate, in compariſon with what is ſeen in more extenſive and civilized dominions, the title of king is not ſo abſolutely improper to the chief of this iſland, which contains, on a groſs calculation, about thirty leagues in circuit, ſeventy-three villages, and near thirty thouſand inhabitants; he having all the eſſentials of royalty, an unlimitted power over his ſubjects, both in temporals and ſpirituals.

The grandfather of the preſent king, if I may then have leave to uſe that term, was an Arab, or Mooriſh trader to Mozambique, where, on a quarrel with a Portugueze fidalgo, or gentleman, with whom he was dealing for ſlaves on that coaſt, he had the fortune to kill his adverſary, and was thereon obliged inſtantly to fly, and put to ſea in the firſt boat he could ſeize on the ſhore, when the firſt land he made was Johanna, where he took refuge. Here meeting with an hoſpitable reception, he remained ſome years in obſcurity, until an Arab tranky being driven in there by ſtreſs of weather, he made himſelf known to his countrymen, for whom he procured all the relief the place afforded.

In the mean time he had ſo perfectly acquainted himſelf with the language and manners of the inhabitants, and was ſo captivated with the fertility and pleaſantneſs of the country, that he not only relinquiſhed every thought of returning to his own, but laid a ſcheme to obtain for himſelf the ſovereignty of this; in which he was greatly coun-

tenanced

tenanced and aſſiſted by the Arabs his countrymen, who came into his views, for the advantage they expected to reap from his ſucceſs.

He proceeded not on a plan of violence, but of inſinuation, in making himſelf neceſſary to the natives, whom he inſtructed in the uſe of arms before unknown to them, eſpecially the zagay or lance, which thoſe of any conſideration among them, now handle with dexterity. This then, with other methods of war which he taught them, entirely new to theſe ſimple ſavages, proving of ſingular ſervice to them, againſt the inhabitants of the neighboring iſlands, eſpecially of Mohila, with whom they had conſtant bickerings, ſometimes invading, and ſometimes invaded, acquired him ſuch a conſideration and authority, that he ſoon availed himſelf thereof, and procured himſelf to be elected their chief or king, and inveſted with a deſpotic power. Yet this was not obtained but by degrees, and by great art: themſelves too being divided among one another. As ſoon, however, as he had carried his point, he made them repent of their credulity and confidence. For not only ſtrengthening himſelf by calling in ſome of his countrymen with their families, but chooſing for his guards the moſt bold and determined of the natives, he was preſently in a condition to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. Such as endeavored to oppoſe him in his pretenſions and innovations, he forced from their families, and ſold for ſlaves to the Arabs; who, on this alteration, encreaſed their reſort there for trade, which they ſtill continue. In ſhort, he ſucceeded ſo entirely, as to overcome all oppoſition, and to bequeath the peaceable ſovereignty to his ſon, who was about forty three years of age, when this his father died, and who had no farther trouble or conteſtation with his ſubjects, until he alſo dying, a few years

 ago,

ago, left two ſons, of whom the eldeſt is at preſent the governing chief.

When a ſhip arrives, it is neceſſary to obtain his licence for dealing with the natives ; eſpecially for the greater articles of refreſhments, ſuch as goats and oxen, as well as for wooding, watering, and landing the men : the permiſſion for which is however purchaſed at a very reaſonable expence, of a few preſents of ſome yards of ſcarlet cloth, a little gun-powder, a few muſkets, or other European commodities.

As the ſoil is of itſelf ſo naturally fertile, to produce every thing they covet for food, ſo their conſtitutional indolence keeps them ſatisfied, without any attempts at improvement, by tillage or cultivation. The Arabs, who have alſo extended their controul to the neighboring iſlands, which are in ſome ſort of ſubjection to them, find it worth their while to come to Johanna in their trankys, which are a kind of uncouth veſſels, of ſeventy to a hundred tons, and carry back ladings of coconuts, with ſome cowries, a kind of ſhells, which are an article of trade ; and perhaps a few ſlaves. It is from them that the Johanna-men have lately learnt the utility of money, in purchaſes from them, of coarſe piece-goods, and other India commodities.

There are doubtleſs too, among the great variety of plants the earth yields here in a wanton profuſion, ſome valuable ſimples, of which the power and ſalutary virtues remain unknown for want of a ſufficient botanical enquiry ; which I am induced to mention, from one of the natives there having made himſelf very uſeful, by the little ſkill and knowledge he has acquired in them, purely by dint of his own natural genius, without any aſſiſtance of education. This man, now much advanced in years, and known by the nick-name of

of Purſer-jack, ſpeaks Engliſh fluently, and is readily ſerviceable in all intercourſe with the natives: but what he is chiefly conſidered for among them is this, his uncommon knowledge of medicinal plants, by which he has done ſurprizing cures, and what is more, without fee or reward.

The ſecond day after our arrival, having an inclination to go up into the country with another Engliſh gentleman, a paſſenger in the Benjamin, captain Meard, I applied to this man for a guide, who accordingly procured us two ſtout fellows, that underſtood a little broken Engliſh, as indeed many of them do, who have any dealings with the ſhipping.

As we ſet out pretty early in the morning, we made a ſhift to penetrate about five miles into the country before the ſun began to be any ways troubleſome; and this was no ſmall ſtretch, conſidering the mountainous way we had to go. We had fowling-pieces with us, and the view of excellent ſport in ſhooting, could we have reached the places where we might perceive the game lay: but we could not conquer the aſcent of the hills, though we endeavoured to ſcramble up them on our hands and knees. We were therefore obliged to reſt ſatisfied with what ſmall birds preſented themſelves, in the vallies and hills that were paſſable. We made our breakfaſt on pine-apples, and the milk of cocoa nuts, which ſerved to quench our thirſt. About noon, coming to a beautiful piece of water, we ſeated ourſelves in the ſhade by the banks of it, to make a ſecond meal, as well as to enjoy the tinkling of ſeveral little ſprings, and natural caſcades, that fell from the rocks, and according to their diſtance ſeemed to ſound a gradation of notes, ſo as to form a kind of agreeable ſoothing water-muſic.

The orange and lime-trees, which ſtood in great numbers about that ſpot of ground, bending under the weight of their fruit, diffuſed a moſt fragrant odor. There were alſo pine-apples which grew wild, of eleven and thirteen inches circumference, of a much richer flavor, than thoſe I afterwards met with in India. Our guides too made us diſtinguiſh a number of goyava, and eſpecially plumb-trees, the ſize of whoſe fruit is about that of a damaſcene, and leaves a pleaſing reliſh on the palate for ſome minutes after it is eaten. All theſe growing promiſcuouſly, and without the leaſt arrangement or order, combined with the falls of water, and the ſtupendous height of the ſurrounding hills, covered with trees and verdure, and in their various breaks and projections, exhibiting the boldeſt ſtrokes of nature, altogether compoſed what might, without exaggeration, be called a terreſtrial paradiſe, compared to which the fineſt gardens in Europe, with their ſtatues, artificial caſcades, compartments, and all the refinements of human invention, would appear poor indeed! here it was impoſſible for art to add any thing, but what would rather ſpoil than adorn the ſcenery.

It was not then without regret that we quitted ſo charming a ſpot, after having feaſted our eyes with the beauties of it; to which it may be mentioned as no inconſiderable addition, that there was no fear of wild beaſts, or of venomous creatures mixed with our pleaſure, the iſland being ſo happy as to produce none. We returned to our tent, well paid for the ſlight fatigue we had undergone in this little excurſion.

The king reſides for the moſt part about nine miles, according to their computation, up in the country, ſeldom coming down to what they call their lower town, on the ſea ſide, but when the

European

European ſhips are lying there, and is then accompanied by a numerous retinue.

When he comes on board our veſſels, which he rarely miſſes, he always expreſſes a great deſire of knowing the name of every thing that is new to him; and as he has a tolerable ſmattering of the Engliſh tongue, is very inquiſitive concerning our wars in Europe, and is eſpecially well pleaſed with the civility of our captains, who regale him with European fare, and who generally ſalute him with five guns, on his paying them a viſit, and the like number at his departure. This laſt is a ceremony he would not willingly diſpenſe with; becauſe this mark of reſpect gives him an air of importance among his ſubjects.

His attendants, who do not altogether ſtand ſo much upon ceremony, as their ſovereign, have a forward way of begging any thing they fancy; and put on an air of diſſatisfaction, if they are refuſed.

They begin, as I before obſerved, to be better acquainted with the value of gold and ſilver, and are not altogether ſo fond of baubles as they uſed to be: for if we want to purchaſe cattle, fowls, or cowries, they deſire to be paid either in ſpecie, fire-arms, or gun-powder. They have likewiſe fallen upon a method of ſolliciting thoſe who come there, particularly all paſſengers, to contribute a dollar or two, towards improving their navigation, which they carry on with the African continent; and by way of perſuaſive example, produce ſeveral liſts of perſons who have ſubſcribed to that purpoſe; ſo that they ſometimes collect thirty or forty dollars a ſhip, from thoſe who touch there: and when the captains leave the place, they generally make it a point for them to ſign, and leave with them a certificate of good uſage.

The huts of the lower ſort of people, are built ſomething after the nature of our barns: the ſides are a ſort of reeds tied together, and plaiſtered over with a mixture of clay and cow-dung; the roofs thatched with a kind of matting of coconut leaves. He is eſteemed a man of rank who has a houſe of ſtone and mud.

They ſubſiſt chiefly on vegetables and milk, which they have here in great plenty and perfection. Inſtead of oil and vinegar to their ſallads, that are of the lettice kind, they uſe a kind of liquid, ſomewhat like our treacle; being a preparation of the juice, yielded on inciſion from the coconut-tree, before it is thickened into the conſiſtence of Iagree, which is a kind of coarſe ſugar they make from it.

Those of quality are to be diſtinguiſhed by the nails of their fingers and toes, which they ſuffer to grow to an immoderate length; being tinged with the alhenna, a yellowiſh red, furniſhed them by a certain ſhrub that grows in the marſhy places of the iſland; a practice uſed all over Arabia, and in moſt places of the Turkiſh dominions. They uſually carry large knives, or poniards, ſtuck in a ſaſh they wear round their waiſts; ſome of which have ſilver or agate handles; but commonly wrought wooden ones. They are moſt of them tall of ſtature, ſtrong, and well proportioned; have long black hair, piercing eyes, lips ſomewhat inclining to be thick, and are in general of a color between olive and black. Their women are rather more clumſily made.

The common people have no cloathing but a piece of coarſe wrapper, which goes round their loins, and often barely covers their ſexual parts; with a ſkull cap, of any ſort of ſtuff. Thoſe of a ſuperior rank have a kind of wide-ſleeved ſhirt, which hangs down over a pair of long drawers, and

and a waiſtcoat made thick or light, according to the ſeaſon: but few wear turbands, unleſs ſuch as are of great diſtinction.

The women are more curious in their apparel, wearing a ſhort jacket and petticoat, with a kind of looſe gown, and a veil to cover their faces. Their arms and wriſts they uſually adorn with a number of bracelets, made of glaſs, iron, copper, pewter, and ſilver, according to their reſpective ranks or circumſtances. The ſmall of their legs, their fingers and toes, are likewiſe decked with chains and rings. Their ears are ſtuck full of mock jewels, and ornaments of metal, inſomuch that the lobes of them eſpecially are greatly dilated and weighed down, which they are from their infancy taught to conſider as a beauty.

They ſuffer their children from their birth, males and females, to go ſtark naked, until from five to ſeven or eight years old: a cuſtom they have in common with the Orientals, who are not ſo much governed in it by the heat of the climate, or neceſſity, as by phyſical reaſons. They imagine that infants are conſtitutionally more apt to be hurt by heat than cold; and that the free acceſs of the air to all parts of their bodies, is even nutrious, and more favorable to their principles of growth, than if they were ſweltered up with ſwathing clouts; which, they think, rob them of a hardineſs conducive to their health; and, in caſe of any diſpoſition to deformity, obſtruct the free courſe of nature, always working for the beſt, and tending to clear itſelf of any imperfections. That alſo, by this method, thoſe little creatures are preſerved from the irkſome galling and chafing of cloaths, ſo often breeding their complaints and cryings; which, if not carefully attended to, terminate through their ſtraining into ruptures, and at leaſt require abſorbent powders to imbibe the

 acrid

acrid ſweat, to which they are then ſubject. How far they may be in the right, I do not preſume to determine, againſt the European cuſtom, probably too prevalent and eſtabliſhed to admit of a change; yet this is certain, that it is rare to ſee, I will not only ſay, a deformed perſon, among them, but even one who is not admirably proportioned: and I have reaſon to think ruptures almoſt unknown to them, which are ſo common in Europe: ſome of them are, it is true, when young troubled with the navel-rupture; but this they ſoon recover, and is without bad conſequences.

Their language is a corrupt Arabic, mixed with the Zanguebar-tongue of the oppoſite part of the continent, from whence it is probable the Comro iſlands were originally peopled. But the whiter ſort of them, who are generally of the beſt rank, or at leaſt the moſt eſteemed among them, partly derive their color from the Arab mixture, and partly from their communication with the Europeans, which was formerly much more common than at preſent. They have adopted the jealouſy of the Arabs, together with their manners and religion; though theirs is as yet no more than a groſs Mahometiſm, adulterated with the remains of their antient ſuperſtition, eſpecially among the lower ſort.

I could not learn that the Portugueze, or any of the Romiſh prieſts, had ever made any great efforts to introduce the Chriſtian religion; probably from a ſenſe that there was little or no money ſtirring here, which is uſually their primum mobile: however, they affect religion for their pretext, as they are very indifferent about being paſtors to ſheep that have not a golden fleece; and, to ſay the truth, they generally take ſpecial care, wherever they go, in quality of meſſengers of the glad tidings of the goſpel, to be, like other mercenary

mercenary meſſengers, well paid for their trouble; as will be more amply ſhewn, in the account I reſerve to give in its place of that ſort of chriſtianity, they make ſuch a boaſt of having propagated in India, with ſo little foundation for any plea of merit in it.

THEIR manners ſtill retain a great deal of the ſimplicity of uncultivated nature. The mildneſs of the climate renders them indolent, and prone to venery. They often make uſe of the liberty granted them by their law of divorcing their wives, upon ſlight pretexts, for the ſake of novelty; though they have generally two or three of them, and are confined to no number of concubines they can maintain. They are forward enough to beg any thing they like; but not thieviſhly inclined. They treat the Engliſh in particular, very cordially and fraternally; not purely from a principle of intereſt and convenience, which however has doubtleſs ſome influence; but alſo of gratitude, for the effectual aſſiſtance they formerly received from them in their wars with the Mohilians. Being moreover aſſured, by a frequent intercourſe, that they have no deſign of invading their country, or liberty, of which they retain a ſtrong jealouſy againſt other European nations, and of the Portugueze eſpecially; to whoſe uſurpations of the ſea coaſt on the continent they are no ſtrangers; againſt which they chiefly, and with great reaſon, rely on the inacceſſibility of their mountains, of which nature has formed for them an impenetrable barrier, and defence of the interior country.

ALL their woods, as I have before obſerved, are clear of any wild beaſts of prey; nor are they infeſted with any venomous animals. They have a great number of monkies of different kinds and ſizes; and a beaſt about the bigneſs of a common one, with a head greatly reſembling that of a fox,

a fox, with a lively piercing eye. Its coat is of a woolly kind, moſt commonly of a mouſe-color; and its tail, of about three feet in length, is variegated with circles of black, within an inch of one another, from the ſetting-on to the top. The natives call it a Mocawk, and when taken young it ſoon grows very tame. They alſo abound with ſquirrels, which are generally large and ſhy, but neither well-ſhaped nor agreeably colored. Their oxen, of which they have great numbers, are of a middling ſize; and, like thoſe in the Eaſt Indies, are remarkable for their difference from ours, in having a large fleſhy excreſcence between their neck and back, which are called the hump, and when kept in pickle for ſome time, are generally preferred either to tongue, or udder, taſting like firm marrow: nothing too can be imagined ſweeter than their fleſh. What fowls we purchaſed were alſo extremely good and fat: however, while we remained there, I had no opportunity of taſting their game, of which they are ſaid to have great and excellent variety: but the natives are bad ſportſmen, either with net or gun.

The ſea alſo furniſhes them with fiſh of different ſorts, and in great abundance, which they are very expert at catching. They have one particular ſpecies, which is called the parrot-fiſh, beautified with the livelieſt colors that can be imagined; is about three foot and a half in length, thick in proportion, and reckoned delicious eating. They have alſo ſome flat fiſh, that a good deal reſemble the turbot; likewiſe thornbacks, mullets, and ſeveral other ſorts, of which I could not learn the names.

Besides many fruits they have in common with the Indies, which it would be tireſome, and out of place to enumerate, there is one remarkable ſort of ſweet oranges, of a ſmall ſize, not exceeding that of a common plumb or apricot; but replete with

with a juice, far more deliciouſly flavored than the larger ſort, ſuch as are generally imported in England from Portugal, under the name of China-oranges. Doubtleſs too, their being gathered ripe, and freſh from the tree, is an advantage to their taſte; and they may ſafely be eat in great numbers.

Upon the whole then, it is not eaſy to conceive a place more perfectly ſuited for refreſhment, after a tedious paſſage at ſea, than the iſland of Johanna; there lying no objection to it, that I could learn, except the want of proper lodgment aſhore, which might be eaſily provided for; and its diſtance, which would be more convenient, if it was ſo much beyond midway from England, that it makes the interval from land to land, rather too long for the preſervation of health, eſpecially among the common-ſailors, not ſo preventively provided with neceſſaries againſt the ravages of the ſcurvy, as the officers and paſſengers. To ſay the truth, conſidering how precious the lives of men ought to be held, the precautions in their favor, great as they are already, on board the Europe ſhips, are not ſo ſufficient, but they might receive ſome beneficial addition, in which both humanity, and the ſafety of the voyage itſelf, might find an account.

Saturday, the 4th of Auguſt, early in the morning, we unmoored the ſhip; and on receiving nineteen head of cattle on board, hoiſted in the long-boat: in the afternoon weighed anchor, with a light breeze from off the ſhore, and made the beſt of our route for our next poſt of deſtination, Bombay; where, without any material occurrence in the paſſage, we arrived on Tueſday the 28th of the ſame month, and came to an anchor in the road, ſaluting the fort, as cuſtomary, with nine guns, which was returned with the difference of two leſs in number.

BOOK II.

Of BOMBAY.

CHAP. I.

Author waits on the governor. Situation and latitude of the iſland. Advice for preſerving health. Former unhealthineſs of the iſland, and its preſent melioration in that point accounted for. Diſtempers. Seaſons.

ARRIVING at Bombay, I went aſhore in the evening, about ſix o'clock, where, with the other gentlemen entertained in the ſame ſervice, we waited on Mr. Wake, then governor, with our reſpects; who received us with great affability and politeneſs, inviting us to ſupper with him; and in the interval, we retired to find out ſuch gentlemen, belonging to the place, for whom we had letters.

IT was my good fortune to be recommended, by a director in London, to a gentleman who was nephew to the governor, and at that time reſided in the factory. He ſaved me the trouble of enquiring after him, by ſending a ſervant to bring me to his apartment; and who afterwards, in honor of my recommendation, did me all the good offices, ſo welcome and ſo neceſſary to ſtrangers, eſpecially on their firſt arrival in a place new to them, and where they muſt conſequently want advice and directions. I mention this, not only by way of gratitude, but as a juſt caution for all who may

may be in the ſame caſe, of going abroad to ſuch places to get provided with effectual recommendations; for it too often happens, that many reſt ſatisfied with either improper ones, or with ſuch, as being mere matter of form, are treated ſo by thoſe to whom they are addreſſed.

I WAS then ſoon put into a regular way of life, and had no other inconveniencies or complaints, but what one is uſually expoſed to, in the change of a native climate for a foreign one. And here, though this place is pretty well known by a number of deſcriptions of its origin, ſituation, climate, &c. it might be deemed an imperfection in my plan, were I not to mention, at leaſt ſummarily, thoſe particulars: as the reference to other books or accounts, would break the connection and order, required for the readers ideas, which muſt be the clearer, for the whole being preſented to him at one view.

BOMBAY is an iſland, in the latitude of eighteen degrees, forty-one minutes of north latitude, near the coaſt of Deckan, the high mountains of which are full in view, at a trifling diſtance; and is ſo ſituate, as, together with the winding of other iſlands along that continent, to form one of the moſt commodious bays perhaps in the world; from which diſtinction it received the denomination of Bombay, by corruption from the Portugueſe Buon-bahia, though now uſually written by them Bombaim. Certain it is, that the harbor is ſpacious enough to contain any number of ſhips; has excellent anchoring-ground; and by its circular poſition, can afford them a land-locked ſhelter againſt any winds, to which the mouth of it is expoſed. It is alſo admirably ſituated for a center of dominion and commerce, with reſpect to the Malabar coaſt, the Gulf of Perſia, the Red-Sea, and the whole trade of that ſide of the great Indian

Peninſula,

Peninſula, and northern parts adjoining to it: to the government of which preſidency they are vey properly ſubordinated.

CONSIDERING too that this iſland is ſituated within the tropics, the climate of it is far from intolerable on account of its heat, in any time of the year; though never ſuſceptible of any degree of cold beyond what muſt be rather agreeable to an European conſtitution. In the very hotteſt ſeaſon, which immediately precedes the periodical return of the rains, the refreſhment of the alternate land and ſea-breezes is hardly ever wanting, the calms being generally of a very ſhort duration; ſo that perhaps, in the year, there may be a few days of an extraordinary ſultry heat, and even thoſe may be made ſupportable, by avoiding any violent exerciſe, by keeping eſpecially out of the malignant unmitigated glare and action of the ſun, and by a light unoppreſſive dyet. Great care too ſhould be taken of not expoſing one ſelf to the dangerous effect of the night-dews, and of the too quick tranſition from a ſtate of open pores, to their perſpiration being ſhut up; which is ſo often the caſe of thoſe, who, from an impatience of heat, venture to ſleep from under cover, in the raw air of the night, pleaſantly indeed, but perniciouſly cooled by the abſence of the ſun: a circumſtance yet more fatal, to ſuch as have beſides been heated by any intemperance in eating and drinking.

BOMBAY, in fact, had long borne an infamous character for unhealthfulneſs. It was commonly called the burying-ground of the Engliſh; but this was only until an experience, bought at the expence of a number of lives, had rendered the cauſes of ſuch a mortality more known, and conſequently more guarded againſt. Among others, the principal ones doubtleſs were:

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First, the nature of the climate, and the precautions and management required by it, not being ſo ſufficiently known, as they now are; if that knowledge was but prevalent enough, with many, for them to ſacrifice their pleaſures of intemperance, or the momentary relief from a preſent irkſomeneſs of heat, to the preſervation of their healths.

Formerly too, there obtained a practice eſteemed very pernicious to the health of the inhabitants, employing a manure for the coconut-trees, that grow in abundance on the iſland, conſiſting of the ſmall fry of fiſh, and called by the country-name Buckſhaw; which was undoubtedly of great ſervice, both to augment, and meliorate their produce: but through its quantity being ſuperficially laid in trenches round the root, and conſequently the eaſier to be exhaled, diffuſed, as it putrified, a very unwholſome vapor. There are ſome, however, who deny this, and inſiſt on the ill conſequences of this manure to be purely imaginary, or at leaſt greatly exaggerated; giving for reaſon, that the inhabitants themſelves were never ſenſible of any noxious quality in that method; and that if the iſland is now leſs unhealthy, the change muſt be ſought for in other cauſes. But all are agreed, that the habitations in the woods, or coconut-groves, are unwholeſome, from the air wanting a free current through them; and from the trees themſelves, diffuſing a kind of vaporous moiſture, unfavorable to the lungs, a complaint common to all cloſe-wooded countries.

There has alſo been another reaſon aſſigned, for the iſland having grown healthier, from the leſſening of the waters, by a breach of the ſea being banked off; which however does not ſeem to me a ſatisfactory one. There is ſtill ſubſiſting a great body of ſalt water on the inſide of the breach, the communication of which with the ſea, being

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leſs free than before the breach was built, muſt be in proportion more apt to ſtagnate, and breed noxious vapors; ſo that this alteration by the breach cannot enter for much, if any thing, into the propoſed ſolution, which may perhaps be better reduced into the before-mentioned one of the different diet, and manner of living of the Europeans: not however without taking into account, the place being provided with more ſkilful phyſicians than formerly, when there was leſs niceneſs in the choice of them. Surgeons, and ſurgeons-mates of ſhips, and thoſe none of the experteſt, uſed to be admitted almoſt without any, or but a ſuperficial examination: though in ſo tender a point, as that of the life of ſubjects, always precious, and ſurely more ſo, where they are ſo difficult to recruit. The ſame negligence was alſo obſerved with reſpect to the gallies, and other armed veſſels of the company in thoſe parts: and to ſay the truth, the pay was too ſlender to invite into ſuch ſervice any capable perſons. Here I cannot omit inſerting, though digreſſively, one inſtance of a wanton diſregard to that material point, of the truth of which I have been credibly aſſured. Mr. Phipps, one of the former governors, on examining the marine eſtabliſhment of Bombay, wherein he propoſed making retrenchments, by way of currying favor with his maſters at home, which is often done, by the falſeſt, and moſt ruinous œconomy, obſerved the ſurgeons pay, rated at 42 rupees per month, which, at the uſual way of reckoning of a rupee for half-a-crown, was juſt five guineas. "What, ſays he, there muſt be "ſome miſtake, the figures are tranſpoſed, it muſt "be 24 inſtead of 42:" and for the ſake of this, in every ſenſe a barbarous joke, he, with a daſh of his pen, curtailed the pay accordingly: but

ſurely

ſurely this was rather cutting into the quick, than paring off excreſcences.

Whatever may be the reaſon, the point is certain, that the climate is no longer ſo fatal to the Engliſh inhabitants as it uſed to be, and incomparably more healthy than many other of our ſettlements in India.

The moſt common diſorders are fevers, to which muſcular ſtrong men are more ſubject than thoſe of laxer fibres; and bloody fluxes, but the laſt make much leſs ravage than they uſed to do, where they fixed, from the ſuperior method of treating them. New-comers too eſpecially are liable to ſome cutaneous eruptions, ſuch as the prickly heat, which is rather reckoned beneficial than otherwiſe; and a ſort of tetters, called ring-worms, from their circular form, about the ſize of a ſhilling, which however ſoon ſubmit to a gentle phyſicking, or even to ſome ſlight outward application.

The Barbeers, a violent diſorder that generally ended in rendering all the limbs paralytic; and the mordechin, which is a fit of violent vomiting and purging, that often proved fatal, are diſtempers hardly now known on the iſland.

In ſhort, this place, the name of which uſed to carry terror with it, in reſpect to its unhealthineſs, is now no longer to be dreaded on that account; provided any common meaſure of temperance be obſerved, without which the tenure of health, in any climate, muſt be hazardous.

The ſeaſons however can at moſt be divided into three; the cool, hot, and rainy: or indeed properly enough into the dry wreather, which laſts eight months in the year; and into the wet, which continues about four months raining, but with ſhort intermiſſions. The ſetting in of the rains, is commonly uſhered in by a violent thunder-ſtorm, generally called the Elephanta, a name which

it probably receives in the Aſiatic ſtyle, from the compariſon of its force to that of the elephant. Yet this is a pleaſing prelude to the refreſhment that follows, from the rains moderating that exceſſive heat, which is then at its height, and naturally brings on, with the ſun that raiſes the vapors, the relief from its intenſe ardor. They begin about the 28th of May, and break up about the beginning of September, after which there is never any, unleſs, and that but rarely, a ſhort tranſient ſhower. This rainy ſeaſon, though extremely hot, in any dry intervals, when the ſun ſhines out for a few hours, is counted the pleaſanteſt: yet the end of it, and ſome days after, are not reckoned but the ſicklieſt time of the whole year, from the abundance of exhalations forming a kind of faint, vaporous bath, from which thoſe who lodge in apartments the higheſt from the ground are proportionably leſs in danger, the atmoſphere growing gradually clearer upwards.

DURING this ſeaſon the country-trading veſſels are laid up, eſpecially thoſe belonging to the black-merchants, with whom it is a kind of ſuperſtition not to ſend any to ſea, until after a feſtival on the breaking up of the rains; the ceremony of which conſiſts chiefly in throwing, by way of oblation, a conſecrated coconut into the ſea, gilt and ornamented. Then and not till then they look on the ſea as open and navigable until the next returning rains. How this ſolemn anniverſary foolery came to be eſtabliſhed, I never could learn from any of the natives; it being probably one of their many traditional cuſtoms, the original of which is loſt in the remoteneſs of their antiquity.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the government of BOMBAY : *its charter. Of the military and marine forces : militia. The piratory on that coaſt : meaſures to oppoſe it. Mildneſs and tolerancy of the* ENGLISH *government.*

THE government of this iſland is entirely Engliſh, ſubordinate to the court of directors of the united companies of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, who appoint, by commiſſion, a preſident, to whom they join a council conſiſting of nine perſons; the whole number of which are rarely, or rather never on the ſpot, being employed as chiefs of the ſeveral factories ſubordinate to that preſidency. Thoſe of the council as are at Bombay are appointed to the poſts of the greateſt truſt, ſuch as accountant, warehouſe-keeper, land-paymaſter, marine-paymaſter, and other offices for tranſacting the company's affairs. They are generally ſuch as have riſen by degrees from the ſtation of writers, and take place, unleſs otherwiſe ordered from home, according to the ſeniority of the ſervice.

THE preſident then, and ſuch members of the council as are on the ſpot, being convened by his order, ſignified to them by the ſecretary, conſtitute a regular council, in which all matters are decided by majority of votes: though the influence of the preſident is generally ſo great, that few or no points are carried but according to his will, and dictates. For ſhould any of the council oppoſe him, he has it ſo much in his power to make their ſituation uneaſy to them, that they muſt quit the ſervice, and repair home, where, unleſs the occaſion of diſcontent is very flagrant indeed, they rarely meet with much countenance or redreſs;

the company thinking it rather more political to wink at the faults of a governor, where they are ſuch as not to be too hurtful to their ſervice, than to expoſe their affairs to the hazard of worſe inconveniencies, from the diſſenſions of any number of abſolutely co-ordinates. And to ſay the truth, this weight a-top, though liable from human infirmity to be ſometimes oppreſſive, ſerves to keep the under parts ſteady and fixt in their place: beſides, it is eaſier to make one perſon accountable for the adminiſtration of things than a number; and ſince the preſident is he on whom the company chiefly relies, it ſeems but reaſonable that he ſhould have the greateſt ſhare of power.

As to the matters of a judicial nature, they were in the year 1727 ſettled by a royal charter, reſpectively obtained for the three chief preſidencies of the company in India: to wit, Bombay; Fort St. George, or Madraſs, on the coaſt of Coromandel; and Calcutta in Bengal. How this charter was received or managed in the two laſt places, I have had no diſtinct account: but as to Bombay am better informed.

At the time this charter was procured for theſe ſettlements, it was generally believed to have been ſollicited by Mr. Harriſon, once a governor of India, but at that time a director of the Eaſt-India company: who, in fact, meant it as a temporary expedient for preſerving and extending his influence over the direction by this proof of his favor at court; though the plauſible pretext alledged was the better adminiſtration of juſtice in thoſe colonies. That ſuch however could not be the true intention, muſt appear clearly from the neglect of all the proper and competent means for eſtabliſhing it, eſpecially with reference to Bombay; and indeed as to the two others, I never heard that there was any more care taken of them. The charter then appointing

pointing the judges of Oyer and Terminer, the mayor's court, and the court of appeals, this laſt to conſiſt of purely the preſident and council, was only attended with a manuſcript book of inſtructions; which, granting it was framed by the ableſt lawyers in the kingdom, could be but a very imperfect guidance to the gentlemen nominated to the ſeveral judicial offices neceſſary to the execution thereof. Theſe gentlemen being, generally ſpeaking, ſuch as came very young out of their country, bred up entirely in a mercantile way, and utterly unacquainted with the laws of England, were in courſe liable to make great miſtakes, eſpecially in caſes of capital importance: and however their natural good ſenſe and well-meaning might make a ſhift in purely commercial caſes to decide with tolerable equity, they could not but be greatly at a loſs in thoſe of a mixed nature, or where it was neceſſary to pay a regard to the particular laws of England. No perſon had been ſent out with capacity or knowledge enough to put this new method of procedure into a proper courſe, and to aſcertain the limits of the ſeveral juriſdictions: ſo that the charter was left in a manner to execute itſelf. But this inſufficiency of judgment was not even the worſt of its conſequences: for ſeveral of the company's ſervants, named eſpecially to fill the offices of mayor and aldermen of the mayor's court, even though their juriſdiction was ſubordinate to the court of appeals, aſſumed to themſelves ſuch an authority and independence, as made the governor and council jealous of theirs being leſſened, or at leaſt checked by it. This bred ſuch feuds and diſſenſions, that ſeveral of the members of the mayor's court conceiving themſelves aggrieved, quitted the ſervice, and repaired home to the company with their complaints. All which might have been in a great meaſure pre-

vented, if proper perſons had been appointed, and ſent out by the company, to give theſe new powers their due digeſtion and form. Whereas, as it was, the want of knowledge, the inexperience and aim at independence in the appointed members of the ſeveral courts, rendered this acceſſion of authority a dangerous tool, in the hands of perſons ſo diſqualified for the exerciſe of it: ſo that it is ſcarce a doubt, but the charter had been better not obtained, than no better a proviſion have been made for its adminiſtration and maintenance. The neglect of ſuch neceſſary precautions, are evidently fitter to give a ſanction to unavoidable errors, and breed diſſentions, than to promote a regular diſtribution of juſtice: for any ſuch diſpoſition, which could only be made by ſending out perſons competently learned in the law, and veſted with a ſufficient authority, would not only have been attended with a great expence, but might have too much interfered with the plan of government inſtituted by the company at home, and have broke that unity of direction, ſo neceſſary to the due ſubordination of their ſervants.

As to the military and marine force, it is conſidered as more immediately under the direction of the preſident, who is entitled general and commander in chief; though nothing material is ſuppoſed to be ordered concerning either without the concurrence of the council.

With reſpect to the military, the common men are chiefly ſuch as the company ſends out in their ſhips, or deſerters from the ſeveral nations ſettled in India, Dutch, French, and Portugueſe, which laſt are commonly known by the name of Reynols (Regnicolæ); and laſtly, Topazzes, moſtly black, or of a mixed breed from the Portugueſe, to whom, and indeed to all the Roman-catholics in the military ſervice, there is not the leaſt objection made,

or

or moleſtation given on account of their religion, of which they have the freeſt exerciſe imaginable; nor is the leaſt expediency of changing it even mentioned to them; whereby they are ſo eaſy on that head, that they might ſafely be truſted in any war againſt thoſe of their own religion, ſuch as the French, or even againſt the Portugueſe themſelves. At leaſt I never heard of any complaint relating thereto.

These are formed into companies under Engliſh officers, ſo as to compoſe the preſidiary force of the iſland; and are beſides occaſionally draughted off in detachments or parties ſent upon command, either in the land-ſervice, or in re-inforcement of the ſubordinate ſettlements, or on board the armed veſſels, which conſtitute the companies marine in thoſe parts.

In the military may alſo be included many regularly formed companies of the natives. Theſe ſoldiers are called ſepoys, who have their proper officers with the titles in the country-language, all however under the orders of the Engliſh. They uſe muſkets, at which they are indifferently expert; but they are chiefly armed in the country-manner, with ſword and target, and wear the Indian dreſs, the turbant, cabay or veſt, and long drawers. Their pay is but ſmall, comparatively to the Europeans; and yet they are on many occaſions very ſerviceable from their inurement to the climate, and diet of the country; and are rarely known to miſbehave or give way, if they are well-led, and encouraged by the example of the Europeans, with whom they are joined. Generally ſpeaking too they are very faithful to the maſters who pay them, or to uſe the expreſſion familiar to the natives, to thoſe whoſe ſalt they eat.

There is alſo on the iſland kept up a ſort of militia, compoſed of the land-tillers, and banda-

rees, whoſe living depends chiefly on the cultivation of the coconut-trees; who, though not regularly diſciplined, would be of good ſervice, eſpecially in any laborious part of military duty, and would aſſiſt in the defence of the iſland, againſt any foreign invaſion, for the ſake of their families there ſettled and from attachment to the Engliſh government, the mildneſs and juſtice of which is the more ſenſible to them from the compariſon obvious to make of it, to the oppreſſion of the neighboring governments.

Besides the neceſſary charge of a preſidiary force, for the defence of the iſland, the company has been obliged for a number of years to keep up a military marine, for the protection of trade upon the coaſt, the whole length of which has, for time immemorial, been infeſted with pirates, and bears ſome reſemblance to that part of the African coaſt, which has ſo long been infamous for this practice. Certain it is, that but for the conſtant check they were kept in by the Engliſh naval force in thoſe parts, thoſe ſeas would have ſwarmed with piratical veſſels, and no trading one, unſufficiently armed, could have eſcaped them.

The coaſt to the northward of Bombay and Surat, was chiefly the harbor of a neſt of pirates, called Sanganians, who ſeldom extended their cruize far beyond the latitude of their ports, and were eſpecially troubleſome to the trading veſſels bound in or out of the Gulf of Perſia: but they rarely attacked any ſhip of ſtrength; their cruizers being of no ſize, nor carrying any artillery equal to ſuch an attempt, Their object too was chiefly plunder, without making ſlaves of thoſe they found on captured veſſels; a rule which however they ſometimes broke thorough, where there was any conſiderable ranſom to be hoped.

On

On the oppoſite coaſt, which forms the end of the Perſian Gulf, were ſeated the Muſkat-Arabs, whoſe firſt putting forth ſhips for cruizing was purely out of revenge againſt the Portugueſe, whom they endeavored to harraſs by all means, and even proceeded ſo far, as to make deſcents on their ſettlements bordering upon Surat, where they committed all ſort of devaſtations. But having once got a reliſh of pillaging ſuch enemies at ſea, they began to extend their attacks indiſcriminately on other nations, and among them on the Engliſh, from whom however, after receiving various defeats, they were induced to abſtain in future, and little by little taking a commercial bent, they have much remitted of that piratical turn, and keep veſſels of force rather upon the defenſive, than for any other purpoſe, and therewith held the power of the famous Shah-Nadir in defiance, who had the reduction of them much at heart.

Formerly too the Malabar coaſt, which though it gives its name to the ſea-ſhore as high as Surat, properly begins at Mount-Dilly, was alſo noted for the pirates that it bred, who greatly diſturbed the navigation of the Indian ſeas. Theſe were long ago quieted by the Portugueſe armaments; and ſince, having been not only overpowered by the Engliſh, but diſcountenanced by the country-governments, who uſed to give them harbor and protection, are now dwindled to nothing.

To the northward of Goa, there were ſeveral petty chiefs, who carried on this piratical courſe; but at length came to an amicable correſpondence with the Engliſh, from their dread and jealouſy of the ſuperior and growing power of Angria, their common enemy, though from different reaſons.

It was then principally on account of Angria, whoſe dominions ſtretched from the mouth of

Bombay harbor, down a great length of coaſt without a material interruption, that the company was, in its own defence, obliged to keep on foot a very expenſive maritime force. This force conſiſted chiefly of gallies built here in England, on the moſt beautiful models that can be imagined, carrying about eighteen or twenty guns, and provided with oars, which were of ſpecial ſervice in a calm. They had alſo a few grabs, being veſſels of much the ſame burthen, but built in the country, on the model of Angria's grabs, with prows, which ſeem beſt calculated for carrying chace-guns. The ſcheme of thoſe people's gunnery being chiefly to get into the wake of their enemy, and rake him fore-and-aft; a kind of quarter-maſter conducting the veſſel till he brings the maſts of his chace into one, at the inſtant of which he gives the word for firing, and commonly does the greateſt execution in the rigging, after which they have the eaſier market of the veſſel thus diſabled. Otherwiſe, they are too ſlightly built to lay along-ſide of any ſhip of the leaſt weight of metal. Their great ſtreſs lies on thoſe prow-guns, which they manage to ſpecial advantage in a calm, having armed boats to tow them a-ſtern of the veſſel they attack, and which for want of wind cannot avoid them. Of theſe armed boats called Gallevats, the company maintains alſo a competent number, for the ſervice of their marine, being not only of uſe to oppoſe them to the enemy, but for purſuit, or expeditions in ſhoal-water. For further ſtrengthening too of the naval force in thoſe parts, the company occaſionally ſtations at Bombay ſome larger built ſhips from Europe; which, for their ſuperior weight of metal, and greater difficulty of boarding, eſpecially in deep water, with any thing of a commanding gale, have nothing to fear from

from thoſe ſlight veſſels; though, in a calm, they might gall and plague them ſufficiently.

All theſe veſſels that formed the military marine of Bombay were chiefly manned with Engliſh, or with European deſerters from other nations; and according to the exigency reinforced with detachments of ſoldiers from the land-forces, to ſerve in the nature of marines. Theſe veſſels were to guard the navigation of thoſe ſeas, and convoy the trade employed on collateral ſervices; ſuch as protecting the intereſt of the company, or vindicating its honor, where requiſite within the bounds of that preſidency's department; as in the Red Sea, Gulf of Perſia, the Bar of Surat, &c.

But whatever care could be taken of employing theſe cruizers to ſafety and advantage, it could ſcarce happen otherwiſe, but that Angria, always alert, and who knew too well the inferiority of his ſtrength, to attack them without great odds on his ſide, ſhould now and then over-match them ſo with numbers, as to get the better; but as more will be ſaid of him hereafter, I ſhall drop him here.

Towards defraying the charges of this marine, the company required of all the trading veſſels, thoſe of the other European nations excepted, to take the paſſes of the Bombay-government, for which they paid ſo ſmall a conſideration, that I never heard the leaſt murmuring; the merchants being duly ſenſible not only of the benefit their trade received from the Engliſh protection, but that this contribution was far ſhort of the coſt of it.

Nothing however has more contributed to the population of this iſland, than the mildneſs of the government and the toleration of all religions; there not being ſuffered the leaſt violence or injury to be offered, either to the natives or Europeans on that account. The Roman-catholic churches, the Mooriſh

Moorifh mofchs, the Gentoo pagodas, the worfhip of the Parfees, are all equally unmolefted and tolerated. They have the free exercife of all their rites and religious ceremonies, without either the Englifh interfering, or their clafhing with one another. This toleration alfo makes a contraft very favorable for our nation, to the rigors of the inquifition, which take place in the neighboring territories of the Portuguefe, whofe having rendered themfelves odious on that account, was not one of the leaft reafons that facilitated their being driven out of the greateft part of them by the Morattoes, who are all Gentoos. Mr. Bourchier, the prefent governor, has greatly exerted himfelf, on the troubles of the government at Surat, and in the countries round about, to draw a confluence of their inhabitants, merchants, and tradefmen to fettle at Bombay, where they experience quite another treatment and fecurity than under their own governments. In truth, this gentleman's conduct cannot be too much commended for his inceffant endeavors at increafing the population, and improving or inlarging the trade of the ifland; efpecially for his care of cultivating peace and friendfhip with thofe dangerous and powerful neighbors the Morattoes; who, being now mafters of the contiguous ifland of Salfett, can at pleafure ftreighten the fupplies of the ifland, and interrupt its inland communication. But of them more in its place.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the ſtate of landed property on the iſland. English, *how ill uſed by the* Portuguese *in the ceſſion of this iſland. Land-proprietors.* Parell *the governor's country-houſe. Coconut-oarts: rice-fields. Brab-trees; toddy-birds. Cultivation improved; to what owing.*

IT is to be obſerved, that when the ceſſion of this iſland and harbor was firſt made to the Engliſh by the Portugueſe, although ſo far deficient as it was, againſt the terms of agreement between the two crowns; and that the iſland of Salſett, which was manifeſtly included in the regalities of Bombay, was unjuſtly withheld from us, and conſequently greatly leſſened the importance of an iſland, which muſt chiefly depend for its ſupport on that of Salſett: the Portugueſe alſo clogged the ſurrender of even this ſmall part of what was our due, with the condition that the inhabitants, late their ſubjects, were to enjoy their poſſeſſions in the ſame manner as before we took poſſeſſion. The iſland was then, and ſtill continues, divided into three roman-catholic pariſhes, or Freguezias, as they call them; which are Bombay, Mahim, and Salvaçam; the churches of which, are governed by roman-catholic prieſts, of any nation but the Portugueſe, againſt whom the Engliſh wiſely objected, from the danger of their connection and too cloſe correſpondence with the prieſts of their own nation, in the neighboring Portugueſe dominions, of whom we had repeated reaſons to be jealous. The bulk then of the land-proprietors were roman-catholic Meſtizos and Canarins. The firſt are a mixed breed of the natives and Portugueſe: the other purely aborigines of the country,

converted

converted to what the Portuguese call the Faith. The other land-owners were Moors, Gentoos, and Parsees; but these last are of moderner date, having since purchased on the island. However, to all these the article of security to their property has been inviolably kept, and the right of inheritance is regulated according to the respective laws and customs of the several denominations of cast or religion. The land is chiefly employed in coconut-groves, or oarts; rice-fields, and onion-grounds, which are reckoned of an excellent sort on this island.

The company have also acquired a considerable landed estate, either by purchases, confiscations for crimes, or treasons, and seizures for debt; for which estate there is a particular officer, under the title of super-intendant appointed to administer.

There are two very pleasant gardens belonging to the company, cultivated after the European manner: the one a little way out of the gates, open to any of the English gentlemen who like to walk there; the other much larger and finer, at about five miles distance from the town, at a place called Parell, where the governor has a very agreeable country-house, which was originally a Romish chapel belonging to the jesuits, but confiscated about the year 1719, for some foul practices against the English interest. It is now converted into a pleasant mansion-house, and what with the additional buildings, and improvements of the gardens, affords a spacious and commodious habitation. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long; and, though near the sea-side, is sheltered from the air of it by a hill between. Here the governor may spend most part of the heats; the air being cooler and fresher than in town; and nothing is wanting that may make a country-retirement agreeable.

As to the oarts, or coconut-groves, they make the moſt conſiderable part of the landed property; being planted wherever the ſituation and ſoil is favorable to them. When a number of theſe groves lie contiguous to each other, they form what is called the woods, through which there is a due ſpace left for roads and pathways, where one is pleaſantly defended from the ſun at all hours in the day. They are alſo thick-ſet with houſes belonging to the reſpective proprietors, as well as with huts of the poorer ſort of people. I have before remarked, that they are however reckoned unwholeſome for want of a free ventilation.

As to the coconut-tree itſelf, not all the minute deſcriptions of it, which I have met with in many authors, ſeem to me to come up to the reality of its wonderful proprieties and uſe. Nothing is ſo unpromiſing as the aſpect of this tree; nor none yields a produce more profitable, or more variouſly beneficial to mankind: it has ſome reſemblance to the palm-tree; perhaps, one of its ſpecies: the leaves of it ſerve for thatching, the huſk of the fruit for making cordage, and even the largeſt cables for ſhips. The kernel of it is dried, and yields an oil much wanted for ſeveral uſes, and makes a conſiderable branch of traffic under the name of Copra. Arrack, a coarſe ſort of ſugar called Jagree, and vinegar are alſo extracted from it, beſides many other particulars too tedious to enumerate. The cultivation of it is extremely eaſy, by means of channels conveying water to the roots, and by a manure laid round them, of which I have ſpoke already. An owner then of two hundred of theſe trees is reckoned to have a competency to ſubſiſt on.

As to the rice-fields, they differ in value, according to the fineneſs and quantity of rice they produce. The growth of this grain has a particularity

cularity not unworth mentioning; which is, that as it loves a watry ſoil, ſo to whatever height the water riſes, wherever it is planted, the growth of the rice keeps meaſure with it, even to that of twelve or fourteen foot, the ſummit of the ſtalk always appearing above the ſurface. It is alſo remarked, that the eating of new rice affects the eyes. The fact is certain, though I cannot aſſume to give the phyſical reaſon for it.

THERE are alſo here and there interſperſed a few brab-trees, or rather wild palm-trees; (the word brab being derived from *Brabo*, which in Portugueſe ſignifies wild) that bear an inſipid kind of fruit, about the bigneſs of a common pear: but the chief profit from them is the toddy, or liquor drawn from them by inciſions at the top, of which the arrack that is made is reckoned better than that from the coconut-trees. They are generally near the ſea-ſide, as they delight moſt in a ſandy ſoil. It is on this tree that the toddy-birds, ſo called from their attachment to that tree, make their exquiſitely curious neſts, wrought out of the thinneſt reeds and filaments of branches, with an inimitable mechaniſm. The birds themſelves are of no value either for plumage, ſong, or the table, and are about the bigneſs of a partridge.

THIS iſland is however a ſtrong inſtance of the benefits of a good government, and a numerous population, by not a ſpot of it remaining uncultivated: ſo that though it is far from producing ſufficient for the conſumption of the inhabitants; and notwithſtanding its many diſadvantages of ſituation and ſoil, it yields, in proportion to its bigneſs, incomparably more than the adjacent iſland of Salſett; whether under the government of the Portugueſe, or, as it now is, under that of the Morattoes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the fortifications, public works, and buildings of BOMBAY. *The castle might have been better situated: the town walled round: out-forts: the breach:* ENGLISH *church. Private buildings and* GENTOO *pagodas. Malabar hill. Story of a* GENTOO GIOGHY. *Rock of purification.*

WHEN the English first took possession of this island, they found in that part of it, which chiefly commands the harbor, an old fortified house, the residence of the Portuguese governor; and though this house might have served for other valuable uses, they were tempted to make it the centre house of the castle which they built round it. It is however impossible to conceive, in every sense, a more incommodious structure; and the same, or perhaps less cost, than the reparations and additions have stood in to the company, would have built a much better mansion new from the ground. Yet the false œconomy of preserving this old piece of building, which need not to have been demolished or thrown away, had such effect, that it hindered the English not only from consulting a more commanding situation to the harbor; which is that of Mendham's Point; but made them blind to the disadvantage of the fort built round it; being overlooked by an eminence near it, called Dungharee Point, on which there is only a small untenable little fort, of no defence, and which serves now for the town prison, for debtors, or criminals.

THE castle however itself deserved a better situation; being a regular quadrangle, well-built of strong hard stone. In one of the bastions of it that faces Dungharee Point, there is a large tank or cistern hollowed, which contains a great quan-

tity of water, that is conſtantly repleniſhed by the ſtationary rains. There is alſo a well within the fort: but the water is not extremely good, and liable to be dried up in the heats. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the water in general on the iſland is not reckoned the beſt; and has been given for a reaſon why the Gentoo merchants were not ſo forward to ſettle on it. Water being a point of great conſequence with them; for as they drink no ſpirituous liquors, they are very curious and diſcerning in the taſte and qualities of waters.

Some years after, as the town grew more populous, it was judged expedient to add the ſecurity of a wall round it; and even then, they neglected to take in, as they might have done by a ſmall extenſion, that dangerous poſt of Dungharee, which evidently now commands both town and caſtle. The curtains however between the baſtions, were of little more ſtrength or ſubſtance than a common garden wall: but there has lately been added at a great expence a ditch that encompaſſes the wall, and can be flooded at pleaſure, by letting in the ſea, at which the ditch terminates on two ſides, ſo that the town is thoroughly ſurrounded with water. It is now one of the ſtrongeſt places by much that the company have in India; and, conſidering the commodiouſneſs of its harbor, might not be improperly made their capital place of arms, in the ſame nature as Batavia ſerves the Dutch: eſpecially if the envious Portugueſe had not detained us from that fertile large iſland of Salſett, which would have compleatly ſerved for a granary to it. Inſtead of which, their ſupine indolent government ſuffered the Jeſuits, who are better known in India by the appellation of Pauliſts, from their head church and convent of St. Paul's in Goa, to get by degrees, and with their uſual arts and management of the laity, by much the greateſt part of that iſland

iſland into their own hands; and which they kept wretchedly fortified, ſo that it fell an eaſy conqueſt to the Morattoes, and at the ſame time we loſt an uſeful barrier between us and that rapacious people.

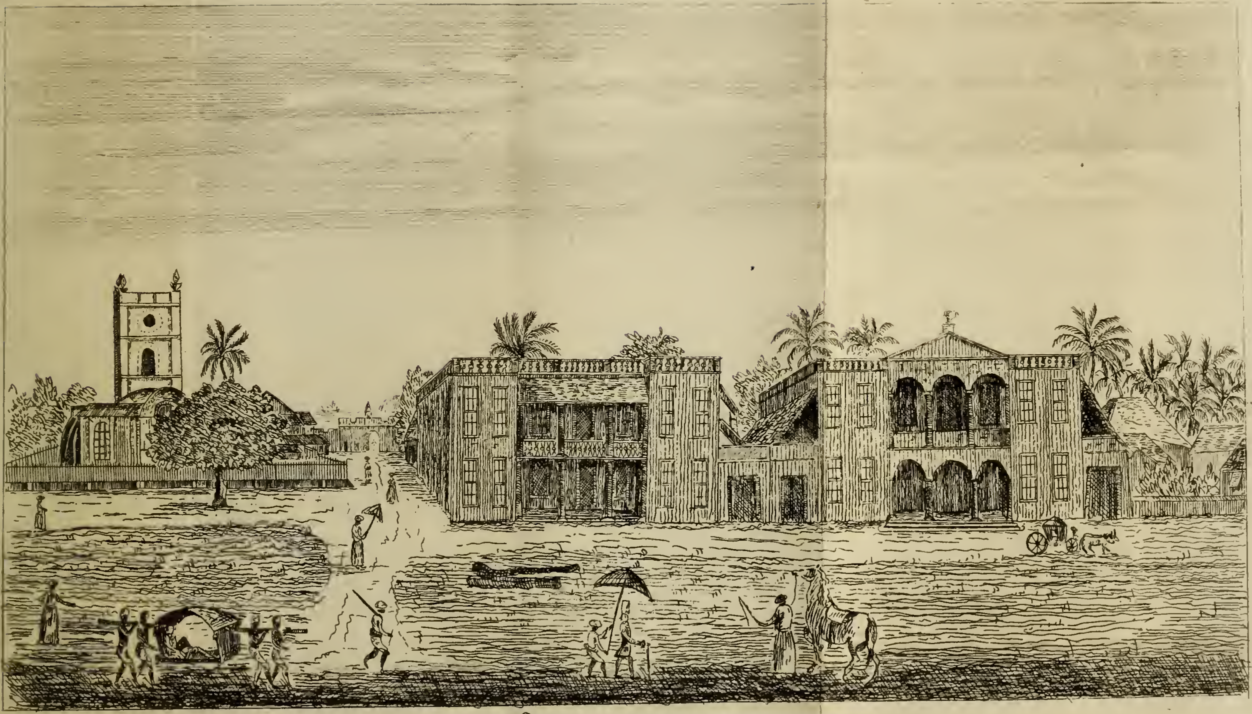
At proper poſts, round the iſland, there are diſpoſed ſeveral little out-forts and redoubts; as at Mazagam, Sion, Suree, and Worlee: none of which are capable of making any long defence. The fort of Mahim is by much the moſt conſiderable, next to that of Bombay; being ſituate at the oppoſite extremity lengthways of the iſland. It commands the paſs of Bandurah; a fort which almoſt fronts it on the oppoſite ſhore of Salſett, from which it is divided by an arm of the ſea, that is however capable only of receiving ſmall craft, that does not bring in great buſineſs to the cuſtom-houſe eſtabliſhed there.

The breach is the work that next claims mention, and is the moſt conſiderable for the coſt of it. About two miles out of town, towards the middle of the iſland, the ſea had ſo gained upon it with its irruption, that it almoſt divided the iſland in two, and made the roads impaſſable. It did not then only take up a large expence to drain off a great quantity of this water, but to make a cauſeway that ſhould bank off this inundation. This cauſeway is above a quarter of a mile in length, and of a conſiderable breadth: but there is one groſs fault remarked in it, that being bending near its middle, the architect has oppoſed to the ſea a re-entering angle inſtead of a ſaliant one. Perhaps he had his reaſons, but at leaſt they do not appear. In the mean time, there ſtill lies within the breach a conſiderable body of water, that has a free communication with the ſea, as appears by its ebbing and flowing, and probably is but the wholeſomer for it. Though it is not unlikely that this ſubterraneous intercourſe

may, in procefs of time, undermine and blow up the caufe-way. After all then I am far from convinced, that the benefits accruing from the breach are equal to the expence of it; which, I am affured, could not be much lefs than a hundred thoufand pounds.

THE only Englifh church at Bombay, and which is full fufficient for any poffible congregation of them at it, is a building extremely neat, commodious, and airy; being fituate on what is called the Green; a fpacious area that continues from the fort thereto, and is pleafantly laid out in walks planted with trees, round which are moftly the houfes of the Englifh inhabitants.

THESE are generally but ground-floored after the roman fafhion, and moftly with a court-yard before and behind, in which are the offices and out-houfes. They are fubftantially built with ftone, lime, and fmooth plaiftered on the out-fide. They are often kept white-wafhed, which has a neat air; but very offenfive to the eyes from the glare of the fun. Few of them have glafs windows to any apartment, the fafhes being generally paned with a kind of tranfparent oifter-fhells fquare-cut; which have the fingular property of tranfmitting the light full fufficiently, at the fame time that they exclude the violence of its glare, and have befides a cool look. The flooring is generally compofed of a kind of loam or ftucco, called Chunam, being a lime made of burnt fhells; which, if well tempered, as they have a peculiar art of it, is extremely hard and lafting, and takes fo fmooth a polifh, that one may literally fee one's face in it: but where terraffes are made of it, unlefs the chunam is duly prepared, and which is very expenfive, is apt to crack with the violence of the fun's heat. There have been alfo fome attempts to paint the ftucco walls in apartments: but they



The West side of Bombay Green

have never fucceeded, being prefently fpoiled, and difcolored by the faline particles of the lime, for which hitherto there has been found no cure.

And here I cannot omit mentioning an ufe made at Surat of this manner of terraffing, for I faw no fuch thing at Bombay; fome having, inftead of gravel walks in their gardens, ftucco ones, a little raifed above the garden-beds: fo that they muft be dry to walk on immediately after the moft violent rain: but then, what with their whitenefs and polifh, they muft have a very difagreeable effect on the eye, in a fun-fhiny day; befides their being fo flippery.

The houfes of the black merchants, as they are called; though fome are far from deferving the appellation of black; are for the moft part extremely ill built, and incommodious; the window-lights fmall, and the apartments ill diftributed. Some however, make a better appearance, if only a ftory high: but not the beft of them are without a certain meannefs in the manner, and clumfinefs in the execution that may be obferved, comparatively, and without any partiality to the European architecture, even the moft ordinary.

There is yet a convenience moft of thofe houfes either of the Englifh or natives have; which are fmall ranges of pillars that fupport a pent-houfe or fhed, forming what is called, in the Portuguefe lingua-franca, *Verandas*, either round, or on particular fides of the houfe, which afford a pleafing fhelter againft the fun, and keep the inner apartments cool and refrefhed by the draught of air under them. Such colonnades might methinks even in England not be unferviceable to fummer-houfes efpecially; which being fo heated by a conftant fun in the middle of the day, as to be hardly tolerable, cannot be fuppofed to be cooled faft enough even in the evening to allow of

their being a refreſhing retreat. It is under theſe Verandas that the owners, eſpecially the natives, generally enjoy the freſh air, and often tranſact their buſineſs or receive viſitants.

Most however of the beſt houſes are within the walls of the town; which may be about a mile in circuit.

As for the pagodas of the Gentoos, there is not one of them worth mentioning in regard to their appearance; being low mean buildings; commonly admitting the light only at the door, facing which is placed the principal idol, made after the various imaginations they have of the ſubaltern deities they worſhip, of which more will be ſaid in its place. They fancy, it ſeems, that a dark gloomy place inſpires a kind of religious horror and reverence. They are remarkably fond of having thoſe pagodas among trees, and near the ſide of a tank, or pond, for the ſake of their ablutions; which they do, not like the Mahometans, ſo much practice as a religious ceremony, as purity for cleanlineſs; and I might add, for the voluptuouſneſs of them in thoſe hot countries. Theſe tanks, or ponds, are often very expenſive works, being generally ſquare, and ſurrounded with ſtone-ſteps, that are very commodious to the bathers. The moſt remarkable pagoda on the iſland is on Malabar-hill, which is ſomething more than two miles diſtance out of town, and is a kind of promontory that ſtretching into the ſea, forms, together with a ſmall iſland called Old Woman's Iſland, what is called Back Bay, the entry of which is ſhut up by a ledge of rocks running from the one to the other. On this hill, which is far from an high one, and of eaſy aſcent, about a mile from that aſcent, after paſſing a plain a-top of it, on a gentle declivity to the ſea-ſide, ſtands the Gentoo pagoda, with a large tank or pond a few feet from it, and is of

freſh

freſh water, formed by the draining of the rains, though not many yards from the ſea, with which it is near on a level, on the ſide that is open to it, all but where the pagoda ſtands between a part of it and the ſhore. The other three ſides are ſurrounded with trees that form an amphitheatre, on the ſlopes of the hill towards it, than which no proſpect that I ever ſaw, or can conceive, forms a more agreeably wild landſcape. The trees open to all the force of the winds, follow the general law, and take a ſtrong bent to the oppoſite point from them, but with ſuch regularity, that one would think they had been trimmed or pruned to that figure they exhibit. Theſe trees give one the idea of the temple-groves, ſo often pictured in the antients. A little beyond that ſpot, towards the extremity of the hill, was built a very ſmall pagoda, of no manner of appearance, or worth mentioning, but for the ſake of the founder of it, an itinerant Gioghi or Gentoo vagrant prieſt, who not twenty years ago was at the expence of it, out of the alms and voluntary donations collected from thoſe of his religion on the iſland. And as there is ſomething in his hiſtory that characteriſes them, I ſhall ſummarily inſert it here, as I received it from a Gentoo who knew him, and hope I ſhall be forgiven the digreſſion.

This man, when he firſt came on the iſland, might be about five and thirty years of age; tall, ſtrait, and well-made. By his account, and a very probable one, conſidering their profeſſion of vagrancy, he had been all over Tartary, Thibet, and on the borders of China. At length he took Bombay in his rounds, and here, though according to his inſtitution, which is ſtrictly that of the old Gymnoſophiſt of India, ſo plainly and ſo truly mentioned in antient hiſtory, he ought to have gone ſtark-naked; yet, out of deference to our

manners, when he took his ſtation up on this hill, he juſt covered thoſe parts which the common ideas of decency oblige to conceal, not ſo much, but that might plainly be ſeen a braſs ring paſſed through the prepuce, which does to thoſe of his profeſſion, the ſame office as a padlock or girdle of chaſtity is ſuppoſed to do to the Italian women. His hair too, which was twice the length of his body, that is to ſay, reaching down to his heels, and thence to the crown of his head again, was wreathed in rolls round, and roſe in a kind of ſpire of a ruſſet color, into which it was ſun-burnt from its original black. This man, on his arrival at Bombay, addreſſed himſelf ſolemnly to the Gentoos, and to them only, for money towards founding the ſmall pagoda I have mentioned; nor indeed did I hear it ſuggeſted that he applied it to any other uſe. But his ſcheme for exciting their devotion was ſomething extraordinary. He preached to them from the midſt of a great fire which ſurrounded him, and had ſomething of a miraculous air, though there was nothing but what was very natural in it. He had a platform of earth made of the elevation of about two foot, and about twelve or fourteen foot ſquare. Round this was ſet a pile of wood, which, being lighted, made him appear as if preaching from amidſt the flames, though they never touched him; but muſt have been unſupportable to any except himſelf, who had been from his childhood inured by degrees to bear ſuch a heat. This device had its effect, for it produced to him a collection, at ſeveral times, to the amount of what he required.

And here I cannot quit Malabar-hill, without mentioning another particularity of it. At the very extreme point of it, there is a rock on the deſcent to the ſea, flat a-top, in which there is a natural crevice, that communicates with a hollow

that

that terminates at an exterior opening towards the ſea. This place is uſed by the Gentoos, as a purification of their ſins, which they ſay is effected by their going in at the opening, and emerging out of the crevice; which to me ſeemed too narrow for perſons of any corpulence to ſqueeze through; though I have been credibly aſſured, that ſeveral very fat perſons have atchieved it. However, this ceremony is of ſuch repute, in the neighboring countries, that there is a tradition, which I do not pretend to warrant, that the famous Conajee Angria ventured by ſtealth, one night, on the iſland, on purpoſe to perform this ceremony, and got off undiſcovered.

CHAP. V.

Of the iſlands adjacent to BOMBAY. OLD WOMAN'*s iſland.* HENARA *and* CANARA. BUTCHER'*s iſland.* CARANJA. ELEPHANTA, *and its famous cave.* SALSETT.—*The ceſſion of* BOMBAY *farther explained. Queen* CATHERINE'*s dower liquidated.* JAPAN-TRADE *loſt by it.* Salſett *conquered by the* MORATTOES. *Inconveniencies of that change of maſters to* Bombay. *Ruins of* Canara. *Diſtreſs of the* PORTUGUESE, *forced to ſeek refuge on* Bombay.

THE firſt iſland occurring to notice, and ſtretching from Bombay, from which it is only ſeparated by the ſea at flood, and eaſy to walk over to on the ebb, is called Old Woman's iſland, though for what reaſon I know not. It is a very narrow ſtrip of land, about two miles long, terminating at the end in a ſmall eminence, or hillock, upon

upon which a look-out-houſe is kept for importing veſſels. Near the middle of this iſland are three tombs, kept conſtantly white-waſhed to ſerve for land-marks, and direction into the harbor. From the end of the iſland ſhoots forth a dangerous ledge of rocks, to ſuch as do not give them what the ſailors call a good birth, by ſteering wide of them. For the reſt, it produces nothing remarkable, and yields only a ſcanty foddering for a few cattle; on which account it is rented out at a ſmall rate, not exceeding, I think, five and twenty pounds, or two hundred rupees per annum.

At the mouth of the harbor lie two ſmall fortified rocks, called Henara, and Canara, which you leave on the right hand as you enter the harbor. Theſe were in the hands formerly of Angria, and the Siddees, or Moors, which laſt have been long diſpoſſeſt of them. In the poſſeſſion of an enemy they are very diſadvantageous to us, for their overlooking our harbor; but I fancy they muſt fall ſooner or later into the hands of the Morattoes, who have lately ſwallowed up moſt of the neighboring country, and to whom ſuch a ſeizure can make but a trifling comparative acceſſion of power.

Over againſt our caſtle, at the diſtance of three miles, lies Butcher's iſland, ſo called from cattle being kept there for the uſe of Bombay. It belongs to the Engliſh, who keep an enſign's guard there, with a fort, not of much more defence than a good pigeon-houſe; though in the hands of an enemy it would ſerve to ſtreighten the harbor greatly. It is very ſmall, its utmoſt length not being two miles, and in breadth no where ſcarce one.

About three miles from thence lies the iſland of Caranja, in ſize inconſiderable, and lately belonging to the Portugueſe; but fell with many other of their neighboring places, under the power of

of the Morattoes. It affords nothing but a little rice, fowls, goats, and garden-ſtuff for the Bombay market.

Two miles from Butcher's iſland, and ſtill fronting the fort, lies the ſmall but famous iſland of Elephanta. It can at moſt be about three miles in compaſs, and conſiſts of almoſt all hill; at the foot of which as you land, you ſee juſt above the ſhore on your right hand, an elephant, coarſely cut out in ſtone, of the natural bigneſs, and at ſome little diſtance not impoſſible to be taken for a real elephant, from the ſtone being naturally of the color of that beaſt. It ſtands on a platform of ſtones of the ſame color. On the back of this elephant was placed ſtanding another young one, appearing to have been all of the ſame ſtone, but has been long broken down. Of the meaning, or hiſtory of this image, there is no tradition old enough to give any account.

Returning then to the foot of the hill, you aſcend an eaſy ſlant, which about half way up the hill brings you to the opening or portal of a large cavern hewn out of the ſolid rock, into a magnificent temple; for ſuch ſurely it may be termed, conſidering the immenſe workmanſhip of ſuch an excavation, and ſeems to me a far more bold attempt than that of the pyramids of Egypt. There is a fair entrance into this ſubterraneous temple, which is an oblong ſquare, in length about eighty or ninety foot, by forty broad. The roof is nothing but the rock cut flat a-top, and in which I could not diſcern any thing that did not ſhew it to be all of one piece. It is about ten foot high, and ſupported towards the middle at equidiſtance from the ſides, and from one another, with two regular rows of pillars of a ſingular order. They are very maſſive, ſhort in proportion to their thickneſs, and their capital bears ſome reſemblance to a

round

round cuſhion, preſſed by the ſuper-incumbent mountain, with which they are alſo of one piece. At the further end of this temple are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which is at leaſt five foot in length, and of a proportionable breadth: but theſe repreſentations have no reference or connection either to any known hiſtory, or to the mythology of the Gentoos. They had alſo continued in a tolerable ſtate of preſervation and wholeneſs, conſidering the remoteneſs of their antiquity, until the arrival of the Portugueſe, who made themſelves maſters of this place, and in the blind fury of their bigotry, not ſuffering any idols but their own, they muſt have been at even ſome pains to maim and deface them, as they now remain, conſidering the hardneſs of the ſtone. It is ſaid, they even brought field-pieces to the demolition of images, which ſo greatly deſerved to be ſpared for the unequalled curioſity of them. Of this queen Catherine of Portugal was it ſeems ſo ſenſible, that ſhe could not conceive that any traveller could return from that ſide of India, without viſiting the wonders of this cavern; of which too the ſight appeared to me to exceed all the deſcriptions I had ever read of them. About two thirds of the way up this temple, on each ſide, and fronting each other, are two doors or out-lets, into ſmaller grots or excavations, and freely open to the air. Near and about the door-way, on the right hand, are alſo ſeveral mutilated images, ſingle and in groupes. In one of the laſt I remarked a kind of reſemblance to the ſtory of Solomon dividing the child, there ſtanding a figure with a drawn ſword, holding in one hand an infant with the head downwards, which it appears in act to cleave through the middle. The out-let of the other on the left hand, is into an area of about twenty feet in length, and twelve in breadth, at the upper end

of

of which, as you turn to the right, prefents itfelf a colonnade covered a-top, of ten or twelve foot deep, and in length anfwering to the breadth of the area; this joins to an apartment of the moft regular architecture, an oblong fquare, with a door in perfect fymmetry; and the whole executed in quite a different tafte and manner from the oldeft or beft Gentoo buildings any where extant. I took particular notice of fome painting round the cornifhes, not for any thing curious in the defign, but for the beauty and frefhnefs of the coloring, which muft have lafted for fome thoufands of years, on fuppofing it, as there is all reafon fo to do, cotemporary with the building itfelf. The floor of this apartment is generally full of water, its pavement or ground-work not permitting it to drain off or be foaked up. For it is to be obferved, that even the cavern itfelf is not vifitable after the rains, until the ground of it has had time to dry into a competent hardnefs.

In the mean time it feems to me fomewhat furprizing, that fo admirable, fo ftupendous a work as this which one would think almoft above the reach of human performance, cannot by any books or tradition, that ever I could hear of, be traced up to its authors, no not even by conjecture. For to give that name to the ridiculous opinion of its having been executed by Alexander's order, would be doing it too much honor. In the firft place, it is clear both by hiftory and tradition, that the Macedonian conqueror never penetrated fo far into India. Or was it even true that he did, What likelihood is there that he fhould employ his army, or any body of men, on a little ifland not three miles in circuit, without a drop of frefh water on it, and quite wide of his route, to hew fuch a temple out of the middle of a mountain, the bare excavation of which out of a folid rock muft have

taken

taken a number of years? To ſay nothing of the chizzeling it into the regular form of pillars, and the reſt of the architecture which it to this day exhibits. Beſides, there is not in the images, or ſculptures, to be found the leaſt ſhadow of alluſion to the hiſtory, manners, or worſhip of the Macedonians; and what is yet more unaccountable, no not even of the Gentoos. The likelieſt conjecture then that occurs is, that the religion of theſe laſt muſt have undergone ſome revolution (though this they ſtrictly deny) and that this temple muſt be the work of the old Aborigines of the country. This conjecture is confirmed by the preſent Gentoos not retaining, that ever I could learn, any veneration for this place, or any regard for it, but on account of its undoubted antiquity. Perhaps, if a proper enquiry was to be made, there might be found among ſome of the Bramins of the continent, who are the depoſitories of the antienteſt hiſtories, as well as of oral traditions, ſome accounts whereby to aſcertain the epoch and origin of this next-to-miraculous work, ſo as to ſatisfy the curioſity of the lovers of antiquity, and who could never have a more noble object. In the mean time, it were to be wiſhed, that ſome good draughtſman would oblige the public with accurate drawings and dimenſions taken on the ſpot, examining withal the continuity of the rock thus excavated, the hardneſs of it, and calculating the time, and numbers of men it muſt have taken up to bring it into its form. For certainly there is to be found in it wherewithal to exerciſe worthily the pencil of a Cornelius le Brun, whoſe juſtneſs cannot enough be commended; and it is impoſſible for mere verbal deſcription to give an adequate idea of it.

This place being ſo near Bombay, affords the Engliſh inhabitants there, not only an eaſy opportunity of gratifying their curioſity, in viſiting

ſo

ſo remarkable a ſpot, but occaſionally of a very agreeable party of pleaſure. Sometimes in their way thither they dine at Butcher's iſland, on account of the conveniency of the officer's houſe to receive them. Others again prefer carrying their proviſions with them, and dine in the cave itſelf, than which, in the moſt ſultry days of the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler and more pleaſant retreat. For though the air be almoſt on fire, you are no ſooner entered the cave, than you are refreſhed with a ſenſible coolneſs. The three openings abovementioned not only furniſhing ſufficient light, but a thorough draught of air, that does not ſo much convey freſhneſs into the cave, as it receives it from its conſtant temperature, preſerved to it by its impenetrability to the ſun, from the thickneſs of the mountainous maſs above it: and even the light that comes into it through the portals, has loſt by the way all the force of thoſe fiery-particles, to which it gives ſo great an activity. For it is obſerved in India, as well as in all hot countries, that the excluſion of light, is in ſome meaſure an excluſion of heat, and that but darkening an apartment only, ſenſibly cools it. This rule admits of no exception, except in places where the ſoil and ſituation are of ſuch a nature, as to continue the heat, even after the actual preſence of the ſun is withdrawn; as in Gombroon on the coaſt of Perſia for example, where a high maſſive hill behind it, to which it is a kind of focal point, and the bituminous quality of the earth, are circumſtances that do not allow of the air's cooling between the ſun-ſet and ſun-riſe.

But, aſking pardon for this digreſſion, and reſuming my preſent ſubject, I am to obſerve, that for the reſt, this iſland contains nothing more that is worthy of notice. There are not above two or three huts upon it; which is not ſurprizing, con-

ſidering the little land there is to cultivate, and that there is no water on it, but what may be ſaved from the rains. The growth of the hill itſelf is only underwood, and graſs; which, in the dry ſeaſon, are often ſet on fire, and will continue burning for three or four days; attended with this benefit, of fertilizing any cultivable ſpots on it, and of the ſalts being waſhed down by the rains into the lower grounds; a practice that is much followed in all thoſe countries, which they call burning the land.

To the northward of the iſland of Bombay, and in one place, at Sion, only divided from it by a narrow paſs fordable at low water, lies the comparatively great and fertile iſland of Salſett; our being defrauded of which is a loſs can never enough be regretted, and is at this day ſo bitterly felt by the company, and in coarſe ſo detrimentally to the Engliſh intereſt.

It is in length about twenty-ſix miles, and on a medium breadth of eight or nine. The ſoil very rich, and improvable by cultivation into the bearing of every thing producible between the tropics. It is every where well-watered, but was employed by the Portugueſe chiefly to raiſe rice, with which it uſed to furniſh Goa, and was called its granary. There is alſo great ſtore of almoſt all manner of game on it, both of the fur and feather. In ſhort, I cannot eaſily conceive that there can be a more agreeable ſpot in the univerſe. But it was eſſentially neceſſary to Bombay, which, with its number of inhabitants, cannot well ſubſiſt without its ſupplies of all manner of proviſions.

Nothing could be harder than to disjoin it from the regality of Bombay, to which it ſtood formally annexed, and was conſequently comprehended in the treaty of ceſſion. In lieu of accompliſhing which, in breach of all the rules of good faith,

faith, they put us off with a place that had no merit in it, but the bare harbor, and its being the nominal ſeat of government; which however, under the Portugueſe, could raiſe it to no conſideration beyond that of a poor fiſhing-place. And even this ſingle iſland of Bombay, thus amputated of its vital member, they did not yield up, not till after they had obliged the Engliſh commander, ſent out by the king with forces to take poſſeſſion of it, to winter on a ſmall wretched iſland down the coaſt, called Anjadiva, where he loſt the beſt part of his men through ſickneſs, want of proviſions, and inconvenience of lodgment. At length however the Engliſh, wearied out with a fruitleſs inſiſtence, were weak enough to compound for a part, ſince the whole of their due was thus perfidiouſly withheld from them; and being admitted to the poſſeſſion of Bombay, that too was clogged with the reſtrictions relating to private property, which I have before-mentioned, and which might have been thought no more than reaſonable, if the other part of the dominion annexed to it had been thrown in.

Thus this part of the dower of queen Catharine of Portugal, to whom her barrenneſs can never be mentioned as a reproach, but only as a misfortune both to her and the nation, was almoſt ſhrunk to nothing; for the improvement of the Engliſh afterwards cannot be taken into the reckoning. Every one knows what was the fate of Tangiers on the coaſt of Barbary, ſoon after demoliſhed and given up, on account of the expence of it not anſwering the ends of keeping it, for which reaſon only, the Portugueſe were probably induced to part with it to us. Even too the ſum collaterally paid for the dower of the queen, was by that good-natured king employed in an armament appropriated to the protection and defence of Portugal

itſelf, againſt the deſigns of the Spaniards' upon it, who were at that time looked upon in no other light than a revolted province. But there was ſtill a worſe conſequence attended that inauſpicious alliance, which has not been at leaſt generally remarked, and that is, that we undoubtedly loſt the trade of Japan by it; and this will not appear a forced or far-fetched inference, to thoſe who ſhall combine with it, the circumſtance of the Portugueſe being about that time expelled Japan, with all the deteſtation and reſentment of which that nation was capable, and for which it was ſo juſtifiable, after their prieſts being the cauſe of the maſſacre of above forty thouſand revolted Japaneſe, beſides numbers executed with tortures, in cold blood, to whom the church of Rome has given the appellation of martyrs; though nothing is more certain, that this extermination of the Chriſtians took place purely upon a political, and by no means a religious account, which was only the acceſſary motive. Whilſt the Portugueſe or Romiſh prieſts contented themſelves with preaching the tenets of their religion, however oppoſite they were, or repugnant to the eſtabliſhed one of the country; they had all the liberty, nay all the encouragement imaginable. But when that nation, always jealous of foreigners, and now wiſe in time, diſcovered that under the pretext of propagating their doctrine, they formed parties in the ſtate, and even intermeddled with the ſucceſſion which they caballed to make it fall on one of their favorers; when the Japaneſe, I ſay, were informed, by the indiſcreet confeſſion of one of the Spaniſh commanders (for Portugal was then annexed to Spain) that the way his maſter had made uſe of to ſubdue many nations, was to ſend miſſionaries before, whoſe buſineſs it was to form a ſufficient party among their converts, to join with ſuch forces as ſhould be ſent to ſubdue the

the reſt; no wonder that thus forewarned as they were, that fierce, ſuſpicious people took the alarm, and were determined to get rid at any rate of ſuch dangerous innovators, and proceeded to the extremities they did, on finding that nothing leſs than ſuch extremities were neceſſary. But even then the Engliſh were not involved in that proſcription and expulſion. They remained upon toleration, and at leaſt upon as good a footing as the Dutch themſelves. But theſe laſt, in purſuit of their ſcheme of engroſſing this trade, made no ſcruple of availing themſelves of ſo favorable a conjuncture, as that of our alliance by marriage with the king of Portugal, whom the Japaneſe conſidered with reaſon as their bittereſt and perpetual enemy. They inſinuated then to the emperor the danger to him from this connection, and gave ſuch plauſible colors to it, and drew ſuch probable inferences from it, that alarmed his jealouſy; upon which he lumped concluſions againſt us, and forbad the return of any of our ſhips there, on pain of death, a prohibition which has not been repealed to this day.

All theſe conſiderations on which I have the more inſiſted, as they ſet the injuſtice done us in the detention of the iſland of Salſett in the ſtronger light, evince the truth of that general remark, of the Engliſh being ſo liable to be overreached in their negotiations, treaties, and compacts.

However, it was ſome alleviation of the damage we ſuſtained, that at leaſt this iſland, whilſt in the hands of the Portugueſe, formed a barrier to us, againſt the invaſions of the Morattoes; and whilſt we were at peace with that crown, and there appeared no probability but of its continuance, Bombay enjoyed, in ſome meaſure, the advantages

of that iſland's produce, and ſupplies of proviſions, which was alſo a mutual benefit.

But ſuch was the ſupine indolence, and blindneſs of the Portugueſe government to its own intereſt, that notwithſtanding it was ſo inflexibly reſolute in keeping poſſeſſion of this iſland, which was ſo much our due, from us, I ſay, who were their friends and allies, it took no ſort of care to defend it againſt their conſtant and natural enemies the Morattoes; yet nothing was eaſier than to ſecure it. Thoſe people had not then the leaſt maritime force, and the iſland could only be attacked by land at one very narrow paſs, fordable at ebb only, which was called the paſs of Tannah. Here they had only a miſerable redoubt, of no awe, or ſtrength. At length, however, on the appearance of an approaching rupture with the Morattoes, they began to ſee the expediency of fortifying this important poſt; and with an abſurdity hardly to be believed, they began the conſtruction of a fort, that would have indeed effectually anſwered the deſign, if the Morattoes could be ſuppoſed ſuch ideots as to ſuffer them to finiſh it, when they had not provided even the ſhadow of a force to cover the building, or repel any interruption of it. Accordingly the Morattoes very quietly let them go on with the fortification, of which themſelves were ſure of reaping the benefit. For before it was finiſhed, and well-nigh finiſhed it was, they poured their troops into the iſland, and eaſily took a fort, the walls of which were in ſome places open, and the batteries yet unmounted with cannon; after which they had not the leaſt oppoſition worth mentioning to encounter on the reſt of this iſland: the fort of Bandurah, or rather a fortified houſe of the jeſuits, over-againſt Mahim, not holding out two days. In ſhort, this great and noble iſland fell as eaſy a prey to the Morattoes as themſelves could have

have wiſhed: by which means Bombay is now become a frontier open to their incurſion, or invaſion, upon the leaſt miſunderſtanding; which can hardly be avoided, ſooner or later, with a people naturally unſtable, ignorant of their own intereſts, or at leaſt, and at beſt very indifferent to commercial ones, preferring, like moſt of the Orientals, a momentary preſent profit, either to a laſting one, or to a much greater one, if at any diſtance of time. Beſides, that without any actual hoſtility, they may greatly ſtreighten and diſtreſs Bombay, both by non-concurrence to its ſupplies from Salſett, and by interrupting their inland communication with the continent, of which the paſs of Tannah is as it were the key. And with reſpect to theſe people, it is not now, as formerly, when the Europeans could over-awe them with their artillery, and ſuperior ſkill of war, a ſuperiority, which though ſtill preſerved, is not however equal to the advantage that is on their ſide of infinitely ſuperior numbers, who are beſides no longer to be frightened with the noiſe of powder, and in the uſe of which themſelves are ſo greatly improved, as to practice mines, and mortars, in which if they do not as yet equal the Europeans, they have however learnt not to be ſo much afraid of them, as they at firſt were, when leſs acquainted with them. Beſides, when the Portugueſe firſt made their ſettlements in thoſe parts by force, the country-powers were all diſunited, and too much at variance among themſelves, as well as too conſtantly kept in check by the Mogul government, to act effectually againſt thoſe invaders, and oppoſe their fortifying in their country. But the caſe is now greatly reverſed with them, in all theſe points.

Salsett, then ſubjected to their dominion, reduces the tenure of Bombay itſelf to very precarious terms, and conſequently leſſens its value, in

proportion as it leſſens its ſecurity. Though for the preſent perhaps, the Gentoo government may be rightly ſenſible of the advantages it derives from Bombay being in the hands of the Engliſh; advantages which it knows itſelf too well to hope the continuance of them, upon taking it from them; yet ſuch is the natural fickleneſs of thoſe people, ſuch the ſpirit of rapine and plunder, and the greedineſs for immediate profit, conſtitutional to them, that there is no ſolid dependence to be placed on their ſentiments from one day to another. Nor could all the fortifications of Bombay be ſuppoſed capable of holding out againſt them, if they are once bent on a conqueſt of it; eſpecially as they look upon it as an annexion to Salſett that is wanting to compleat their conqueſt of the coaſt; and beſides, as originally belonging to themſelves, in quality of the natural lords of the whole country.

They can with eaſe bring from an hundred to two hundred thouſand men into the field, moſt of them horſe, inured to the climate, and not unfurniſhed with fire-arms and artillery. They are at home, and capable of being conſtantly ſupplied with freſh recruits. Imagine then if Bombay could expect to hold out long againſt them, if they ſhould be in earneſt to reduce it. How far in the right they were, I will not pretend to ſay; but when they firſt heard of the ditch projected round the town-wall, and of its dimenſions, they affected at leaſt to hold it very cheap. "Let them alone "(ſaid they) it is not at preſent worth our while "to break with the Engliſh; but whenever that "ſhall be the caſe, we can fill their ditch up in "one night's time with our ſlippers." I ſuppoſe, that at that time they had no idea of its being a wet one; though that would not much increaſe the difficulties of the ſiege.

Thus

Thus by the fatal relinquiſhment of our undoubted right, to a nation that made ſo ill an uſe of it, we have in Salſett loſt all that could render Bombay eſſentially valuable. The extent of it, the fertility, the excellence of its waters, every thing in ſhort that could be acquired, ſhould have drawn to us a confluence of the greateſt merchants in the neighboring countries, and from Surat eſpecially, who were ſtrongly invited by that mildneſs and liberty in our government, of which they were, one may ſay, eye-witneſſes. Their ſole objection was the ſmallneſs of the iſland, and the indifferent water: whereas in Salſett there was room enough to ſpread themſelves, and the water as before obſerved excellent. In ſhort, by the addition of Salſett, Bombay might have been eaſily made as conſiderable to the Engliſh as Batavia to the Dutch, with all their advantages of the neighboring ſpice-iſlands; as this harbor is ſo near Surat, the center of the Indian trade, and every way commodious for commanding the navigation of the Indian ſeas.

In even the unimproved, and tradeleſs condition of that iſland, under the Portugueſe government, its revenue was, upon a tolerably juſt eſtimate, computed at near five lacks of rupees, or ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling per annum; which, to reckon at the rate Bombay has been with all its diſadvantages improved by the Engliſh, is not, moderately ſpeaking, the fourth part of what it would have produced to us, to ſay nothing of the ineſtimable benefit it would in all probability have been in other reſpects, and eſpecially that of our then having every thing neceſſary within ourſelves.

For the reſt, except the abundant riches of nature, there is nothing remarkable in it but the ruins of a place called Canara, being excavations of rocks, ſuppoſed cotemporary with that of Ele-

phanta, and are much more numerous, but none of them approaching to it in bignefs or workmanſhip.

The mountains of it are pretty high, and there is a tradition that they emerged together with the ſubjacent land out of the ſea, by a violent earthquake: to confirm which it is pretended, that there was on the top of the higheſt hill, not many years ago, found a ſtone-anchor, ſuch as was antiently uſed for the veſſels of that country; but I cannot ſay, that I ever heard this ſtory was founded on any good authority.

If any one however ſhould hereafter attempt a ſurvey or deſcription of Elephanta, it will doubtleſs be alſo worth his while to paſs over to Salſett, and take a view of Canara, as it may probably furniſh him with lights, and conjectures, by the compariſon of both.

When this iſland was loſt to the Portugueſe, and conſequently the jeſuits, who were owners of much the largeſt part of the land, were the greateſt ſufferers, none were however leſs pitied even by the Portugueſe themſelves, eſpecially by thoſe from whoſe families their arts had extorted their poſſeſſions. Their inſolence too was as boundleſs as their avarice, which laſt has prevented the iſland ftom being fortified, whilſt it was yet time from their backwardneſs to contribute their quota of the charges. Thus the more they had to loſe, the leſs were they willing to pay towards ſecuring it.

It was a melancholy ſight on the loſs of Salſett, to ſee the many families forced to ſeek refuge on Bombay, and among them ſome Portugueſe Hidalgos, or noblemen, reduced of a ſudden from very floriſhing circumſtances to utter beggary. However, they found relief from the uſual generoſity of the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the juſt mat-

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ter of complaint they had againſt their nation, eſpecially on the occaſion of that very iſland, the loſs of which through ſuch ſcandalous negligence brought ſo great a danger home to their own doors: they found, at Bombay, an hoſpitable refuge, and all the friendly entertainment and conſolation they could wiſh. One of them was extremely pitied by the Engliſh, a gentleman called John de Souza Ferras, who was before that time poſſeſſor of a very conſiderable eſtate in Salſett, and who had greatly endeared himſelf to the Engliſh by his kind and generous reception of them at his houſe whenever the occaſion offered. He continues I believe to this day, if alive, at Bombay, very much careſſed and eſteemed by the Engliſh gentlemen who were acquainted with him in his proſperity.

BOOK

BOOK III.

Of the MORATTOES, *and* ANGRIA.

CHAP. I.

Of the MORATTOES. *Derivation of their name. Aboringes* GENTOOS: *conduct of the* MOGULS *towards them.—Rise of the* SAHA *or* SOW-RAJAHS. —*Disposition of the* Morattoes. *Proficients in engineering*; *nature of their troops. Curious in their arms.—Situation of* BOMBAY *with respect to them. Opinion of the wealth of* Bombay. *Rapaciousness of the* Morattoes: *frank acquiescence in their character of perfidiousness: not sanguinary: their usage of captives in war. The fort of* RAREE, *the residence of the* Saha, *or* MAR-RAJAH: *his subjects credulous in astrology. Story of the* Mar-Rajah *and a reputed sorceress. Description of the* Morattoes *persons and dress. Their women*; *and the charge against them of poisoning their husbands groundless.*

AFTER speaking of the islands, there remains to add some account of the continent bordering upon Bombay, to which one may say it is, in some measure, contiguous; since by the means of the two forts at Sion, and Tannah, one may pass to it without taking boat: but as all that is necessary to be mentioned of it is included in the description to be here given of the Morattoes, who are lords of all the neighboring parts of it, there is no need of making a separate article of it.

THE

THE name of Morattoes, or Marattas, is, I have reaſon to think, a derivation, in their country-language, or by corruption, from Mar-Rajah the chief, or rather, to ſpeak more juſtly, the king of that powerful tribe, having all the diſtinction and eſſence of ſovereign power centering in his perſon. But this name of Morattoes is purely local, and confined to their own country; for all over India, and no farther off than Surat, they are more currently known by the appellation of Ghenims, unleſs their late ſpread of conqueſt ſhould have more generalized it than it was before. As to the word Ghenim, if I am not greatly miſtaken, it imports as much as free-booter, and is beſtowed not only on the Morattoes, but all thoſe mountaineer tribes of the Gentoos, who commonly make a war rather of pillage or plunder, than a regular one for glory or conqueſt.

BUT to give ſome idea of this people at preſent ſo powerful, that they have brought near all Indoſtan under their ſubjection, and give laws even to the Mogul government, it will be neceſſary to trace them ſummarily to their origin.

IT is then to be obſerved, that when the Mongul-Tartars, whence the title of Mogul is apparently derived, founded their ſovereignty upon the expulſion of the Pattan-Moors, and in proportion as they extended their conqueſts over the country, many of the Aborigines Gentoos, who were incapable of making head againſt them in the field, or plains, and unwilling to ſubmit to the yoke from the ſworn enemies to the Gentoo-worſhip, who, wherever they penetrated by force of arms, made it a point of religion to deſtroy their temples and idols, with all the fury of bigot-zeal, they retired for ſhelter to the numerous mountains of Indoſtan, and there burrowed in inacceſſible faſtneſſes; upon which Aurengzeb gave them the humorous nick-

name

name of mountain-rats. But then, as theſe Gentoos were ſplit into various tribes, under chiefs of different families, whoſe diſunion had already facilitated the invaſion of the country, firſt to the Pattans, and then to the Moguls; the diſſenſions and jealouſies ſtill continued in force enough to hinder them from uniting againſt the common enemy. Of this the Moguls, in the flouriſhing ſtate of their empire, knew perfectly well how to take the advantage, and put in practice that great ſtate maxim of dividing in order to govern. What then by courting ſome, by menacing others, and by awing all of them with ſtanding armies, which if they could not penetrate into their ſtrong holds, or abſolutely conquer them, could ſtill ſtraiten and diſtreſs them, they brought ſeveral of their Rajahs under a kind of tributary ſubjection, and had art and intereſt enough to oppoſe them againſt each other. Some of them even came occaſionally to court, and not only paid perſonal homage to the Mogul, but did military duty and ſervice round the court, while they ſtill reſerved their reſpective dominions in the mountains. While the Moguls continued this practice of ſowing diſſenſions among thoſe warlike tribes, and of employing occaſionally and aptly the ways of rigor, or of compliance, to intimidate or ſooth powers, which were impenetrable for their armies to deſtroy, that empire enjoyed a tolerable ſtate of peace and ſecurity. But as ſoon as the government began to relax on that capital point, having fallen into the hands of a ſucceſſion of indolent princes, engroſſed by the pleaſures of their ſeraglio's, and weakened by the contempt into which their negligence plunged them; the Rajahs perceived the change, and lifted their heads upon it. They could eaſily have recovered the dominion of the whole country out of the Mogul's hands, if they had not ſtill perſiſted in ſuch

their

their diſunion, that they could not agree among themſelves who ſhould poſſeſs the empire. They had rather ſee it in its nominal ſubjection to the Tartar family, than any one of their own nation aſſume it over the reſt; and each minding only to incroach upon it for his own particular benefit, the whole ſtate of Indoſtan remained and ſtill remains a common prey to their ſeveral incurſions, and devaſtations, which is the only point wherein theſe Rajahs agree.

It was towards the latter end of Aurengzeb's days, that one of thoſe Rajahs, called Sevajee, or rather Sow-rajah, took the advantage of that monarch's declining as well in judgment as in years, ſet up openly the ſtandard of revolt, and bearded him with the pillage twice repeated of Surat, the capital town of trade of his whole dominions. Nay, ſo ſecure was he of his point in it, ſo aſſured of the negligence and ſupineneſs of the government, that he intimated to the town the day he had prefixed for entering and plundering it, and was as good as his word; not having met with the leaſt oppoſition, unleſs in the Engliſh and Dutch factories, whoſe poſture of defence ſaved them from ſharing the common fate.

By this exploit, and other ſucceſsful enterpriſes on the Mogul dominions, he acquired ſuch ſtrength and reputation, as enabled him to give a certain conſiſtence, and regular form of government to that aſſemblage of free-booters, which he had collected out of the mountains of Deckan, and whom the temptation of pillage had united under his ſtandard. Maſter then, by continual encroachments every way round him, of a conſiderable and populous body of dominion, he aſſumed the title now continued to his ſucceſſors of Mar-rajah, or Arch-rajah, and appeared in a condition to give laws to the Mogul empire; at the worſt he was aſſured of

there

there being no human poſſibility of coming at or driving him out of his inacceſſible retreats in the mountains. Yet, it is obſervable, that all the time he was acting thus in open defiance tó the Mogul emperor, he never profeſſedly threw off a nominal ſubmiſſion to his throne. He had even the aſſurance to ſtyle himſelf his general in Deckan. Theſe meaſures he doubtleſs kept out of regard to the jealouſy of the other Rajahs, who had not yet ſo openly renounced their vaſſalage, and who differed from him however in nothing but their appearances more, while they claimed in fact as abſolute an independence.

His ſucceſſors purſued invariably his ſyſtem of politics and activity: and as their dominions encreaſed, they ſet on foot more numerous and more regular armies, under able generals: ſo that from a ſet of banditti or free-booters they aſſumed a more national form, without departing in the leaſt from their original ſpirit of rapine and plunder. One would otherwiſe naturally think, that as faſt as they formed their ſtate into order and conſiſtence, they would encourage trade, which is every where, by civilized nations, conſidered as one of its chief ſupports: but, hitherto at leaſt, they have given no indication of a commercial turn: on the contrary, wherever their arms have penetrated, or their influence extended, they have deſtroyed all trade and manufactures. On the coaſt, a little to the ſouthward of Bombay, there exiſted not long ſince ſome very conſiderable manufactures, which were annihilated by the oppreſſion and harraſſments exerciſed on the artizans, inſomuch that there is not the footſtep of them left. At preſent they ſeem to have placed their whole dependence on the ſword: nor do they want for great caution, conduct, and policy in the extention of their dominions. They ſeem in no hurry for puſhing their

conqueſt,

conqueſt, but patiently wait for their beſt time and opportunity: and even where they meet with a repulſe, they yield with great ſuppleneſs to the force of the conjecture; they retreat with as good a grace as if they had ſucceeded, and prepare their meaſures cooly to return afreſh as opportunity may favor them.

They have encouraged deſerters from the European nations, from whom they learnt the art of engineering, as far as the ſkill or knowledge of thoſe deſerters reached; the Indians in general being ready imitators to a certain point, or ſtandard, at which they commonly ſtop, not being curious of perfection in any thing. It has however been obſerved, that though they gave ſuch deſerters a pretty high pay, compared to the ſmall one with which they ſatisfy their own natives, ſhould they ſave or hoard up any ſum, which by the by they rarely do, they do not ſuffer them to quit the country, unleſs at the hazard of a dangerous eſcape, or unleſs they purchaſe their freedom with a delivery of all they are worth. But, in truth, and conſiſtently enough with ſuch treatment, no Europeans take ſervice among them, except ſuch as are of deſperate fortunes, or have committed crimes that obliged them to ſeek refuge there. When ſuch Europeans have exhauſted their ſtrength, and power of ſervice, they are ſuffered to languiſh in miſery and poverty, neglected and deſpiſed by thoſe their employers.

By this means however the Morattoes have been rendered capable of forming regular ſieges, with which they were before utterly unacquainted. Thus, when they took Baſſaim from the Portugueſe, a place ſtrongly fortified, at leaſt ſuppoſed ſo againſt any attempts of theirs, which is ſituate on the coaſt on the continent a few miles to the northward of Bombay, they erected regular batteries,

teries, threw in bomb-ſhells, and proceeded by ſap and mine, until the town ſaw itſelf forced to ſurrender.

Yet with all this, their troops * are fitter for a war of incurſion, than for regular campaigns. They are chiefly compoſed of land-tillers, called Corumbees, with whom their ſeed-time and harveſt are eſſential points to be conſulted, and adjuſted to their expeditions; for their manner of government admitting no importations, or material ſupplies from without, they would run the hazard of a famine on any deficiency of cultivation. Thus they are equally bred to agriculture and arms, and perhaps are not the worſe ſoldiers for this alteration. Their pay is extremely ſmall, and that generally not furniſhed in money, but in rice, tobacco, ſalt, pieces of apparel, and other neceſſaries of life, which are there at a cheap rate. And indeed otherwiſe their bringing ſuch numerous armies into the field could not be accounted for, conſidering their excluſion of trade.

Their horſes, on which they chiefly rely, are a ſmall but hardy breed, like that of the mountains of Scotland, inured to fatigue, and of ſecure footing for the rugged roads among the hills, and a very ſmall matter of forage ſerves them.

For arms, a great many of them have muſkets, but generally indifferent ones, and moſt of them match-locks. Theſe they uſe chiefly in buſh-fighting, where when they have made a diſcharge, they retreat in a hurry to their main body: but their chief dependence is on their ſwords and targets. Their ſwords are, generally ſpeaking, of an admirable temper, and they are well trained up to the exerciſe of them; ſo that on all occaſions in

* See vol. II. introduction, p. xi.

battle

battle, they quit their muſket, and betake themſelves to them with great ſucceſs. They are ſo curious in the blades, that they hold the European broad ſwords in great contempt, eſpecially the common-ſale ones, that are ſent out by our ſhips. When the Derby, captain Anſell, was ſo ſcandalouſly taken by a few of Angria's grabs, whoſe marines are exactly the ſame as the Morattoes, and often ſome of their ſubjects; there fell into Angria's hands, among a great quantity of other valuable military ſtores, ſome cheſts of ſword blades, on examining of which Angria ſaid, that the Engliſh ſwords were only fit to cut butter with.

As to their targets, they are exactly round, convexing almoſt to a point on the out-ſide, light, and covered with ſo ſmooth and hard a varniſh or lacquer, that if tolerably good, they will eaſily turn a piſtol-ball, and at ſome little diſtance a muſket one.

They alſo have among them excellent ſlingers, and archers; but of theſe they make lately leſs account ſince the introduction of fire-arms; though, conſidering their imperfection in the management of theſe laſt, it is a query whether they are much gainers by the change.

As to the reſt of their dreſs, nothing can be imagined meaner. A roll of coarſe muſlin round their heads, to which they give the name of puckery, or turbant, or perhaps a bit of cloth, or ſtriped callico, or cuttance-cap; a lungee or clout, barely to cover their nakedneſs, and a pamree or looſe mantle to throw over their ſhoulders, or to lye on upon the ground, compoſes the whole of their wardrobe. This however is only to be underſtood of their common men, though the officers do not much out-figure them: ſo that nothing can preſent a more deſpicable appearance than theſe troops, together with their little ill-favored horſes,

 the

the furniture of which is in a ſtile anſwerable to the reſt.

THEN their diet is extremely portable; they require no great magazines of proviſions, no ovens, or embarraſſment of waggons. A little rice, and a leathern flaſk for water, which they call a Metarrah, are all that is requiſite, ſo that every ſoldier may eaſily carry his own allowance: nor do the officers fare more ſumptuouſly, nothing being ſo plain as their food, eſpecially during their expeditions, which they conduct with amazing rapidity, and not too without great ſtratagem and cunning.

AGAINST ſuch numbers, with the advantage of being in their own country, it is not very probable, that any force we could afford from Europe ſhould materially or ultimately prevail. Otherwiſe nothing could be more for the Engliſh intereſt, than endeavoring to reconquer the iſland of Salſett from them, for reaſons too obvious to need a recapitulation here: but it is now only mentioned to explode a propoſal, I am told was once made of ſuch an attempt. The ſituation of Bombay is however now rendered ſo precarious, that there is no ſuch thing as either quarrelling with the Morattoes to advantage, or truſting to them with ſafety, nor indeed ſeeing any end of this dilemma.

IF they were a people capable of hearing reaſon on their true permanent intereſts, in contradiſtinction to their momentary ones, they might eaſily ſee that Bombay, in the hands of the Engliſh, is a greater advantage to them, than if it was in their own; as it is a great inlet of trade into all their dominions that lye round it, by means of the ſeveral creeks and rivers that communicate with that harbor, a trade which themſelves for many reaſons could not expect to invite or bring into them. They are alſo well aſſured, that the

Engliſh

Engliſh court no ſettlements but on account of their commerce, always beneficial to the countries round about, and never dangerous to them, from its not being attended with the ſpirit of conqueſt, even their forts being rather mere warehouſes than curbs upon the natives. Theſe are arguments too, of the force of which they will ſometimes own themſelves convinced, and perhaps really are ſo at the time, but then there is no dependence on their continuance in that mind. A change of their miniſters, a fancy that ſhall take them in the head, that Bombay would afford a good preſent pillage, or a ſcheme of humoring their troops, who are never better pleaſed than with a promiſe of plunder; any of theſe, or the like motives, are ſufficient to make them break of a ſudden through all their reſolutions, and ties of a greater intereſt; and what is more, though known to themſelves to be ſo.

The principal men among them, though probably better informed themſelves, cannot root out of the minds of the bulk of that people in general, a ſtrong notion, that Bombay incloſes great riches, an idea which they do not fail of annexing to trade, and which, ſuch is their conſtitutional indiſpoſition towards it, they are not yet tempted to introduce, or improve in their own dominions. This falſe opinion however they have of the advantage accruing to the company from the poſſeſſion of Bombay, though it is far from paying its own charges, and is only kept for the convenience of its other ſettlements and factories, has ſuch an influence, that they think no demands too exorbitant for purchaſing their toleration and tranquility.

As an inſtance of this way of thinking in thoſe people, may be produced the terms on which Samboo or Sambajee Angria inſiſted, when certain overtures of peace were ſet on foot between him and the government of Bombay. After ſome pre-

face on the prodigious advantages of the Englifh trade on that coaft, which muft in courfe enable them to afford what he demanded, he confined himfelf however to no larger a fum than twelve lacks of rupees, or about one hundred and fifty thoufand pounds per annum, which he required in confideration of his defiftence from his hoftilities, and non-interruption of our navigation. I do not know that he ever funk his demand afterwards; but only that the Englifh government treated his propofal with the contempt it deferved, and made a jeft of it. Nor was this indeed worth mentioning, but to fhew the popular opinion in thofe parts of the wealth of the Englifh, which infpires the country-government lefs with refpect, than with a defire of plundering them.

Nor can this unfavorable difpofition of the Morattoes towards foreign merchants be much wondered at, when it is equally and more fo towards thofe of their own country. For the few that are induced to live under their government, for the fake of the gain to be made on the traffic of the abfolutely neceffaries of life, are obliged to conceal, as they would murder, their being in good circumftances. Towards which they affect all the appearances of poverty, in their houfes, drefs, and all externals, to avoid being pointed out as a prey to their rapacious government, which is fure ultimately not to fpare any rich fubjects, though they will fometimes leave them quietly for a long time to gather wealth, which they look on as fo much in bank for themfelves, whenever they pleafe to call it in: and in this point they make no diftinction of any rank or condition, but that of the great military officers, whofe property is more refpected for obvious reafons of ftate. They are their inftruments of oppreffion, whom it is not fo fafe to difoblige or difcourage. But, though they are Gentoos,

toos, whom one would in courſe think awed by their prieſts or bramins, they ſpare them no more than the reſt, when they are reputed rich, and will, without ſtanding upon any ceremony with them, uſe menaces, and even tortures, to ſqueeze money out of them. This ſhews they are either not over-loaded with religious ſcruples, or that they look on the temporalities of their prieſts, as making no part of the ſacredneſs of the function, and that they are not diſqualified for officiating their ſpiritual duties by their want of worldly wealth.

As this rapacіouſneſs is chiefly the characteriſtic of the Gentoo government, whereas that of the Moors or Moguls is much more temperate and juſt, it is often the reaſon why thoſe of their ſubjects, who can eſcape the dangerous repute of being rich, bury their wealth in ſecret places, unknown often to their neareſt relations, and even to their heirs, when by chance they died ſuddenly, or at a diſtance from their homes. Beſides, ſuch is their tenaciouſneſs of theſe treaſures, that when ſome, in conſequence of their falling under the ſuſpicion of wealth, have been expoſed to violent tortures, they have had the conſtancy to hold out, and keep the ſecret of their hoards, though in all other points they were known to be the arranteſt cowards. In the mean time, by unexaggerated accounts, it is amazing to reflect what immenſe treaſures have been buried and loſt on ſolely this principle of preſervation; for it is an utter fable, that they are looked upon as uſeful to them in the other life. A proof of which is, that the ſame ſort of people are never known to bury their treaſures under a free government, where they are not afraid of being pillaged, and where they can ſafely leave them to their heirs. I have heard it averred, that the ſums of money thus interred in the courſe of paſt ages, at leaſt equal thoſe in preſent circula-

tion all over Indoſtan. Perhaps this eſtimate is hyperbolical, though there are not wanting good reaſons to countenance it.

So much is certain, that the Gentoo merchants, eſpecially the Banyans, and even the Bramins or Gentoo-prieſts, prefer living under a Mooriſh government, or indeed any government to that of the Gentoos; being at leaſt ſure that they can no where meet with leſs ſafety, or more oppreſſive exactions. Surat is one inſtance of this, which is crowded with Gentoo merchants, and mechanics of all ſorts; where, though they are ſome times expoſed to the avarice and vexations of bad governors, they are only tranſient and partial ſtorms: whereas the Gentoo government is one continued and univerſal ſyſtem of violence and injuſtice.

Such are the people now the immediate neighbors of Bombay, in whoſe character nevertheleſs there is ſomething paradoxical. For though too perfidious to be ever ſafely truſted, at leaſt they do not, like a polite neighboring nation in Europe, affect a parade of ſincerity or good faith. They do not deſire to be taken to be more honeſt than they are, and would be the firſt to laugh at thoſe who ſhould repoſe any confidence in them. They make no profeſſions of friendſhip beyond words of common courſe, or ſet formularies of compliments, which they do not expect ſhould be taken for more than they are worth. They never ſet forth any pompous manifeſts, decked with the falſe colors of eloquence, of their good intentions to the peace of mankind, at the inſtant that they are taking all the meaſures in their power to diſturb it. They conſider themſelves always in a ſtate of war, open or underſtood, with thoſe powers whoſe dominions they covet; and conſequently think, that all feints, ſtratagems or advantages are fair, as from enemy to enemy.

Treache-

Treacherous as they conſtitutionally are, they yet are not accuſable of that common attendant on treachery, cruelty. They are not accounted ſanguinary. They do not uſually rob and murther, unleſs where this laſt is abſolutely neceſſary to the firſt, and then doubtleſs they do not ſtick at it. What priſoners they make in war they ſeldom detain, but get rid of them as ſoon as poſſible, to ſave the charges and trouble of keeping them; unleſs where any ranſom is in view, and then they will not ſcruple uſing the harſheſt means towards extorting what they expect from them. Slaves they rarely make, unleſs they ſhould have a view of a market for them; for they would make money of any thing: but though ſlaves are often bought in India, there is no ſettled vend for ſuch as are taken in war. It is chiefly in times of famine that parents are ſometimes driven to diſpoſe of their children to the Europeans, or Moors, for I never could learn that the Gentoos dealt in them: neither can the Gentoos keep a ſlave under their roof of any religion but their own, on account of the profanation their law attributes to it. Beſides, ſervice is ſo extremely cheap among thoſe people, that there are always numbers of domeſtics to be found, ready to ſerve for bare victuals and raiment.

Slavery being out of the queſtion in the incurſions of thoſe people, whoſe ſole object is preſent plunder, they are the leſs a terror to the neighboring countries, and eſpecially to the poor land-tillers and peaſants, who generally keep nothing in their huts worth carrying away, and thus are abundantly defended from loſſes by having nothing to loſe.

Even in their plundering of towns, unleſs actuated by ſome extraordinary motive of reſentment, they obſerve a certain moderation. Thus, for ex-

ample, when they pillaged Surat, befides their refpecting the lives of the unrefifting inhabitants, and the faving the houfes from fire, they were far from rigorously ranfacking it; it being a maxim with them (to ufe their own phrafe) not to pluck up a beard by the roots, but to fhave it, fo that it may grow again, to ferve another opportunity.

Upon the whole, they may be pronounced a fort of a civilized nation of banditti, who, it is not impoffible, though at prefent it does not feem very probable, may in procefs of time be brought to adopt more focial maxims of government, and rife into dignity and rank with the other lawful or regular powers.

The Mar-rajah, the fovereign of thefe people, generally keeps his court, or more properly fpeaking, confidering their purely military conftitution, his head quarters, at the fort of Raree, in the mountains of Deckan; and if reports do not bely it, this muft be the moft compleatly impregnable place in the univerfe. It is reprefented as a fortified mound of rocks, extremely high, and fo fteep, as but by one narrow pathway, to be acceffible to human footing; with this advantage, that the enclofure of it is large enough, independent of the ftores accumulated there, to grow grain fufficient for the maintenance of its garrifon, which were it but a handful of men, could with pleafure defend it againft the greateft armies that could be brought to take it; not to mention that the paffes and defiles leading to it among the mountains, are fo rugged and narrow, that the Morattoes muft be all afleep, to fuffer any armies to penetrate to that fortrefs.

Here the Mar-rajah principally refides, with a kind of military court, compofed of his generals and officers, and keeps all the ftate of a fovereign

prince,

prince, with all the insignia of royalty about him; one of which, peculiar to the Rajah's of Indostan, is their long vest, which only differs from that of other common ones, in the make towards the bottom, being sloped into a peek downwards on each side.

At this court, both the sovereign and the courtiers are so entirely engrossed with their attention to military operations, that having that super-addition to the natural indolence of the orientalists in general with respect to arts and sciences, they appear entirely incurious of the European manufactures, or rarities, whether of nature or art. In vain then would be shewn to them any of those exquisite pieces of workmanship, which are produced by our artists. They would indeed, out of civility, praise them with an air of careless indifference, and their natural covetousness would perhaps not suffer them to be sorry for being presented with them; but they would much rather receive the equivalent in sheer money, diamonds, or precious stones, of which the currency is to the full as regularly settled. This tastelessness too is so thoroughly rooted in them, that though no people are fonder of decking out their women with rich jewels, yet they would prefer those of their own workmen's comparative coarse and clumsy setting, to those of a Robertson or a Lacam, and that not from any laudable partiality towards their own country-men, but purely from the want of a relish for perfection, which makes them contented with what they have a habit of daily seeing. Thus a watch of the most beautiful and nicest make, is only valuable to them according to the metal it contains; and a painting of Raphael's or Titian's would move them no more than it would a horse.

In the profound ignorance in which they are bred, and in which their parts that are naturally extremely

extremely lively remain immerſed, or receive at the hands of tradition a wrong direction, it is not ſurprizing, that they ſhould be liable to take ſtrong impreſſions of ſuch groſs errors and prejudices, as thoſe in favor of judicial aſtrology, of which it is but ſo lately that the politeſt courts in Europe have ſhaken off the yoke. Theſe people in general are ſcrupulouſly addicted to believe in that vain ſcience, and religiouſly obſerve the good or bad days, indicated to them by their aſtrologers, who are chiefly Bramins, and whom they conſult on all occaſions; but this folly is no more than they have in common with the reſt of the Orientaliſts. Their credulity extends yet farther, to the opinion they have of wizards, and ſorcereſſes, of whom they tell many ſtories that they firmly believe. One of them, which I had from a Gentoo who came from that country, and very gravely aſſured me of the truth of it, I take leave to relate, not moſt certainly as either believing or expecting it to be believed, but purely as a ſpecimen of the genius of invention of thoſe people, with reſpect to any thing that favors their credulity.

The preſent Mar-rajah being informed of the great reputation of a certain woman in his dominions for ſorcery, and fortune-telling, ſent for her to court, with an intention to put her to death, on what particular provocation was not ſaid, but firſt had the curioſity to ſee her. The woman accordingly appeared before him: ſhe was then about forty, very corpulent, and not of an ill preſence. He aſked her ſternly, if ſhe knew why he had ſent for her? "Yes, anſwered ſhe (with the utmoſt intrepidity and unconcern) you have ſent for me "to take away my life; but before you proceed "to that, I hope you will, for your own ſake, permit me to give you a ſalutary warning." Curioſity, or perhaps the apprehenſion natural to that

prejudice

prejudice which admits of the poſſibility of witchcraft, moving the Rajah's aſſent to it, ſhe ordered two fowls to be produced, the one a cock, the other a hen. The cock was ſet down on the ground, full of life and ſpirits; then taking the hen, ſhe deſired the Rajah to mark the conſequence. At theſe words ſhe wrung the neck of the hen off, when at the ſame time the cock, though untouched by any one, imitating all the convulſions and agonies of its death, accompanied the hen in it. "This, Sir, (ſaid ſhe to the Rajah determinately) "remember to be a type of your fate and mine." The Rajah ſtruck with this, not only deſiſted from his intention, but intreated her to be near his perſon, ſettled a conſiderable penſion on her, ordered her a palankin and attendance, and in ſhort treated her thence-forwards like a perſon, with whoſe life his own was wound up.

As to the perſons of the Morattoes, they are generally a clean-limbed, ſtrait people, it being very rare to ſee any deformed perſons among them. Some of them are muſcular large-bodied men; but their vegetable diet, and their not being trained up to a proper exerciſe of their bodily ſtrength, makes them not ſo robuſt; which laſt I the rather believe, becauſe it is certain, that even in this hot climate, there are often to be found, as at Surat, porters who will carry a weight equal to what any European can; however, it is certain, that the Morattoes are in battle eaſily over-borne, not only by the Europeans, but by the Mogul's troops, with neither of whom they have any chance, without a great ſuperiority of numbers, or from the ſlight and dexterity with which they handle their ſwords.

Their complexions are of all ſhades, from the deep-black to the light-brown; but it is obſerved, they are fairer in proportion of their diſtance from the ſea-ſide, and of their birth among the mountains

tains the fartheſt remote from it. Their features are generally regular, and even delicate. Beſides ſhaving their heads, of which they religiouſly preſerve in the middle of it a lock at full length, ſo as to tie up, and hang down behind, the Morattoes are diſtinguiſhed from the Moors, by two favorite curls they wear on each ſide juſt above the ear, which appearing from under their turbants, gives them a kind of effeminate look.

Their women are generally very handſome, whilſt the bloom of youth continues; but that ſoon fading, there are few who preſerve the charms of their ſhape and ſkin till thirty, at which they are commonly paſt child-bearing. They are reckoned very faithful and affectionate to their huſbands, who do not appear to be infected with the oriental taint of jealouſy. In this country, however, the barbarous cuſtom ſtill continues, as indeed none are ſo tenacious of old cuſtoms as the Gentoos, of women burning, or being buried (for there is one tribe that buries their dead) with their huſbands: what is more, the higher the rank of the huſband is, the greater is the incumbence on the wife, to follow him in this manner; and the Rajahs eſpecially have ſeveral of their wives burned with them: the ceremony of which, being ſo amply deſcribed in many authors, acquits me of entering into any further account of it here; beſides that, I never was myſelf an eye-witneſs to it. Yet I believe, that the ſtory of this cuſtom, attributed to the Bramins deviſing it, to put a ſtop to the frequency of the womens poiſoning their huſbands on every ſlight quarrel, to be an over-refinement of conjecture, as falſe as it is injurious to the women of this country; no ſuch practice being either atteſted by creditable tradition, or warranted by the behavior of the other Indian women not ſubjected to this cuſtom, and who are generally of a mould of mind much

much too soft and tender to incur even the suspicion of such a detestable barbarity. I rather attribute it to the strength of passion, always the greatest in the weakest minds, from the greater power of all impressions on them, and of which the Bramins knew how to take the advantage, not only for the sake of paying their court to the leading men of the country, whose vanity, and that sort of jealousy founded upon it, were thus flattered at the expence of a sex, in those parts perfectly enslaved to them, and never enough considered by them; but also for the sake of the dreadful power of religious persuasion it armed them with, to establish a ceremony that is never but attended with signal emolument to themselves, and that inspires an awe or veneration for them the conductors of it.

THE Morattoes, as Gentoos, agree in this, as they do in most other points in religion and manners, with the rest of the Gentoo nations, of which in its place will be given a more particular account. In the mean time, from what has been said, the situation specifically of Bombay with respect to these people, and to what is to be hoped or feared from them, may not be insufficiently collected.

CHAP. II.

Of ANGRIA, *and his* SUCCESSORS.

CONAGEE ANGRIA, the father of the present Angrias, having made so remarkable a figure in the history of those parts, and especially relatively to the English interest in them, for having been the first founder of a very considerable piratical state; and so many fabulous stories having been imposed on the public concerning his birth,

first

first rise, and progress, I shall in my second volume give the best and most authentic account I could obtain concerning him, and his dominions *. However, I shall here observe, that Angria, who had found means to dispossess other petty chiefs of their forts, and lands, through the acquiescence of the Morattoes, and his own enterprizing genius; having collaterally acquired vessels of greater force, ventured at length to break with our flag, and took some English vessels trading upon that coast, plundered the cargoes, and made the men prisoners, subject to a ransom.

This naturally alarmed the government of Bombay, which accordingly expostulated with him on his piratical procedure; to which he made no further answer, than that disclaiming the title of pirate, he assumed that of admiral to the Mar-rajah, to whom he insisted that the sovereignty of those seas belonged, and that he was determined to maintain it, against all such as should refuse to acknowledge, or not take his passes. And as one may well imagine these were terms to which the English government could not stoop, he went on with his usual depredations.

This obliged the East-India company to keep a constant marine on foot to hold him in check, and to protect the trade and navigation of those seas, an incumbence which greatly inflamed the charges of that presidency. Angria however made a shift to support himself by cruizing indistinctly on all nations, and by picking up such stragglers as ventured on the coast without convoy. Yet he took care never to venture below mount Dilly, or far to the northward, for fear of being intercepted and cut off his port by the English force that was employed

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* See vol. II. p. 211—228.

to

to watch his motions: about 1731 he died, not in a very advanced age, being about ſixty.

He was a well-ſet corpulent man, rather blacker than commonly the Deckaners are; full faced, with a ſparkling eye, and ſtern countenance. He was very ſevere in his commands, and exact in puniſhing; otherwiſe liberal to his officers and ſoldiers, with whom he affected a ſort of military frankneſs, not to ſay familiarity. He was too, like the Morattoes, very careleſs of keeping faith, and excuſed the not making any peace with him, on which it was foreknown that no reliance could be had.

After his death, the ſucceſſion devolved on his ſon, Sambagee Angria, who retained force enough to do the Engliſh a great deal of miſchief, and accordingly took their trading ſhips, both of the country, and from Europe, and even occaſionally the armed veſſels, when he could ſurprize and overpower them. He died in 1745, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Tulagree, who was diſpoſſeſſed by the Engliſh in 1756, as will be particularly related in my ſecond volume.

It has been however propoſed as a doubt, whether the Engliſh have acted for their intereſt, in their joining to ruin an enemy, it is true, but an enemy, in whoſe place another power far ſuperior in ſtrength is ſubſtituted, and whom there is no more ſafety in truſting than Angria himſelf.

This argument would be very juſt, if the Morattoes were not already, by their neighborhood to Bombay, in condition to do us ſo much miſchief by land, that the conſideration of what they can ever do againſt us by ſea is abſorbed in it. It may not then be unreaſonable to think, that it is better to have this nation only to deal with, on the beſt terms of friendſhip that can be procured, than to continue in a conſtant ſtate of hoſtility with a petty pirate, from whom no peace could ever be hoped,

and

and who was unſuppreſſible, without a greater land force than we could conveniently bring againſt him; ſince even granted, that the Morattoes could raiſe a marine ſuperior to that of Angria, a breach with them by ſea could not be more fatal than the one at land, which would of courſe be implied in it. For certainly Bombay, according to all human appearance, ceaſes to be tenable, that inſtant the Morattoes determinately reſolve the conqueſt of it; which will not appear a hazarded conjecture to thoſe, who know the extent of the Morattoes power, eſpecially now their arms are at liberty, and free from any awe of the Mogul's. But, beſides, even allowing that the fortifications of Bombay were able to hold out againſt ſuch forces as they could eaſily bring againſt them, if they convert but their deſign into a ſcheme of blocking up the paſſes, of harraſſing the iſland with incurſions, and ſtraitening it for proviſions, they can only with a little more time, but with leſs danger and no inconvenience to themſelves who are at home, render the tenure of it impracticable, or at leaſt uſeleſs to us. If they can poſſibly however be brought to know their own intereſt; or knowing it, to adhere to it, this can never be the caſe.

B O O K IV.

Of the MOGUL *government.*

C H A P. I.

Of SURAT: *its ſituation: diſturbances there. Hiſtory of* MAHMUD ALLY. *Character of the* BANYANS. *Style of the* MOGUL *governors. Ship-building: navigation: buildings and ſtreets of* Surat: *proviſions: odd names given to ſpirituous liquors. Account of the practice of champing: bathing: jugglers: toleration of religions: manufactures: commodious method of ſale. Singular method of ſecuring the caravans. Intercourſe between* Surat *and* BOMBAY *by land. Opium: ſtory of its paradoxical operation:* PATNA *ſends the beſt to market: ſtory of an* ENGLISH *gentleman dying of having ſucked a poppy. Of the uſe of bang.—Of the* PARSEES.—*Of the* MOGUL *government, and its declenſion. Religion of* TARTARY *is deiſm. Of ſeraglios, and the* MOORS *taſte of beauty. Buildings and gardens of the* Moguls. *Dancing-girls. Dreſs of the* Moors: *manners: ſlaves: diet: equipage and carriages. Luxury of the Orientaliſts.*

SURAT has hitherto been ſo cloſely connected with our government at Bombay, that ſome account of it falls naturally within my plan, eſpecially as it ſerves for introduction to an attempt of ſome definition of the Mogul government, in which the Engliſh are ſo much con-

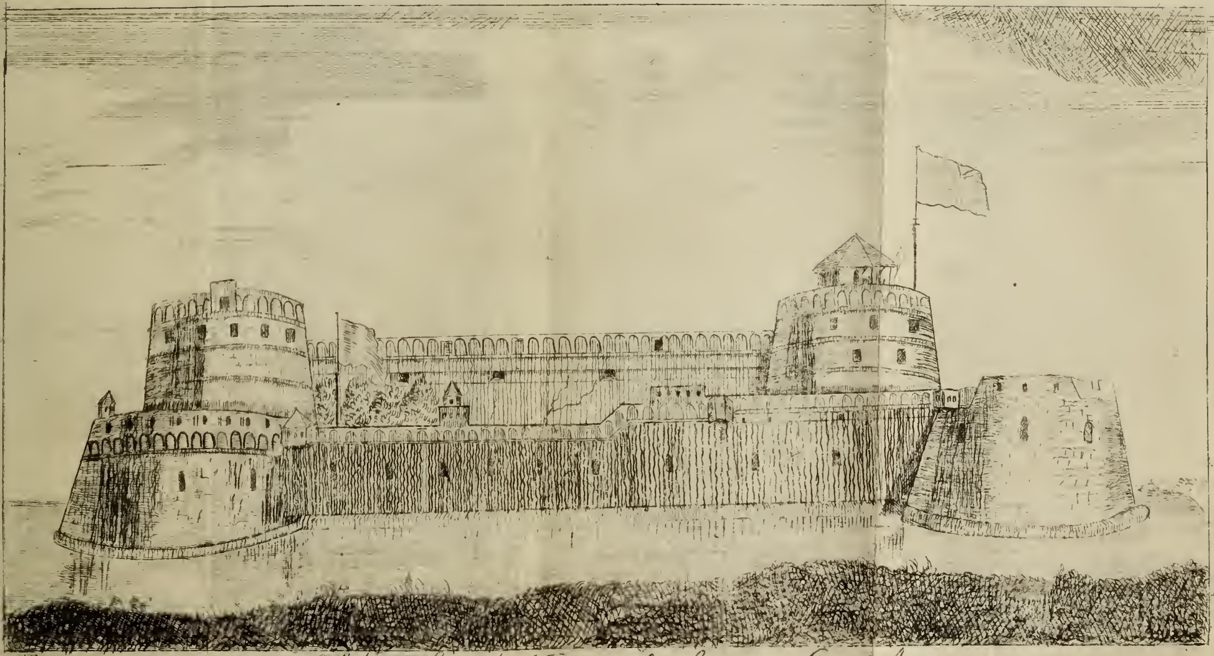
cerned, and which for many years paſt has been a kind of political paradox.

Surat is ſituate on the continent a little to the northward of Bombay, about ſixteen miles up the river Tappee, on the right-hand ſide as you go up. The river itſelf is nothing remarkable; but the city on the banks of it is perhaps one of the greateſt inſtances in the known world, of the power of trade to bring in ſo little a time wealth, arts and population, to any ſpot where it can be brought to ſettle.

It is not later than the middle of the laſt century, that this place was the repair of a few merchants, who under the ſhelter of an old inſignificant caſtle, formed up a town, which in the proceſs of a few years, became one of the moſt conſiderable in the world, not only for trade but ſize, being almoſt as large, and as populous as London within the walls, and contains many good houſes, according to the Indian architecture. A wall was ſoon, after its taking the form of a town, built round it, to defend it from the inſults of the Morattoes, who had twice pillaged it; but a wall that could only be meant of uſe againſt the ſudden incurſion of ſuch free-booters, and by no means capable of ſtanding any thing like a regular ſiege. The caſtle too, which is by the river-ſide, and which you paſs in your way up to the city, appears a ſtrange huddle of building, fortified with cannon mounted here and there without order and meaning, and without an attempt at any thing like military architecture.

In this city, before the Eaſt India company became by the royal grant inveſted with the poſſeſſion of Bombay, was the preſidency of their affairs on that coaſt: for which purpoſe they had a factory eſtabliſhed there with ſeveral great privileges allowed them by the Mogul government; and even after

The East View of Surat Castle



The South View of Surat Castle.

The West View of Surat Castle

after the ſeat of the preſidency was transferred to Bombay, they continued a factory here, at one of the beſt houſes in the city; which yet not being ſpacious enough to contain their effects, they hired another houſe at ſome diſtance from it, and nearer the water-ſide, which was called the new factory.

In the mean time this city floriſhed, and grew the center, and indeed the only ſtaple of India; it being much more frequented for the ſake of the vent goods of all ſorts met with there, from whence they were diſtributed particularly to the inland provinces, than for either the natural productions, and manufactures of the country, though they alſo made a conſiderable part of its commerce. In ſhort, there was hardly any article of merchandize that can be named, but what was to be found at all times here, almoſt as readily as in London itſelf. The company carries on annually a large inveſtment of piece goods, eſpecially of the coarſe ones Byrampauts, Chelloes, and others for the Guinea market; but the Engliſh intereſt and influence ſeem of late years to have greatly declined, amidſt the confuſion and embroils of the country, a circumſtance every where fatal to trade, and to that ſecurity and credit which are the life of it.

While the Mogul government was in vigor, there was ſuch a ſhew of juſtice, as induced the merchants of all religions and denominations to take ſhelter under it. The Gentoos eſpecially reſorted to it, and took up their abode there, not only on the account of trade, but for preferring a Mooriſh form of government to the living under Gentoos, who had none at all. And it muſt be owned, great care was taken that no very flagrant acts of oppreſſion ſhould be committed; ſo that in what ſometimes happened, at leaſt appearances were kept, and were moſtly owing to the mer-

chants themſelves, who on perſonal pique, or jealouſy of trade, would find means to ſet the government upon one another's backs, which was not averſe to interfere in their quarrels, being ſure to be the only gainer by them.

As an inſtance of this, it may not be improper to relate the fate of Mahmud Ally, the grandſon of that great and truly royal merchant Abdulgafour, of whom captain Hamilton obſerves, "that he
" drove a trade equal to the Eaſt India company
" (that is greatly exaggerated) for he had known
" him fit out in a year above twenty ſail of ſhips,
" between 300 and 800 tons, and none of them
" had leſs of his own ſtock than 20,000 pounds,
" and ſome of them had 25,000, and after that
" foreign ſtock was ſent away, it behoved him to
" have as much more of an inland-ſtock for the
" following year's market. When he died, he
" left his eſtate to two grandſons, his own ſon,
" who was his only child, dying before him. But
" the court had a fling at him, and got above a
" million ſterling of their eſtate."

One of the brothers dying, the remains of that fortune centered in Mahmud Ally, who, even after that great ſtroke of court-extortion, had ſtill enough left to carry on a trade, not indeed equal to his grand-father, but however far ſuperior to any other private perſon in Surat. He had alſo a fort of his own, called Otway, by the river-ſide, where he kept all his ware-houſes, magazines, and ſtores for building ſhips, compactly and within himſelf.

But it happened unfortunately for him, that Lolldaſs Vituldaſs, a Banyan, and actually at that time head-broker to the Eaſt India company, with whoſe trade that of Mahmud Ally interfered, and perhaps inflamed by other perſonal piques and emulation, projected his ruin, and effected it.

Lolldass

Lolldass knew very well, that the Moorish governor of Surat would readily seize any occasion of destroying Mahmud Ally, not only for the sake of gratifying his avarice by the plunder of his estate, but for that of removing out of his way a man greatly obnoxious for his power to protect the merchants, being a preponderant weight in their scale, when joining them to withstand the oppressions of the government: a circumstance which had given equally umbrage to the preceding governor Sorab-Cawn, who, before he was removed, had also marked him out for his prey.

The Mogul's court was then immersed in that supine indolence, which had invited the Persian invasion by Shaw Nadir, more commonly known in Europe by the name of Thamas Kouli-Cawn; so that the Nabobs, and governors of cities, lived in a sort of contumacy or independence on his commands. But what was worse yet, especially for Surat, that rule of good policy had been omitted with respect to its government, which had always before established, that the governor of the town should be separate from, and utterly unconnected with the governor of the castle, who was even ordered not to stir out of the castle while his government lasted, unless perhaps once a year to repair in ceremony, and with all proper precautions to pay his devotions at the head-mosch. To this check was also added another, which was an universal practice over the whole empire. The Mogul used to keep a residentiary, or at least send occasionally an authorized minister, under the title of Vocaneveess, whose business was to inspect and report to him the conduct of his governors, and prefects of provinces, to whom this person was not only unsubordinate, but an awe and terror.

All these wise dispositions were however, at this time of universal negligence, laid aside: and the

governor of the caſtle was not only nearly related to Teg-beg Cawn, the governor of the town, but abſolutely at his diſpoſal; ſo that every thing was done in a concert between them, which opened the door to the oppreſſion that followed.

Lolldass taking advantage of theſe circumſtances, and himſelf being rendered deſperate by the declenſion of his own, eaſily found means to ſuggeſt to a governor, already greedy of embracing ſuch an overture, the deſign of deſtroying a man obnoxious to them both.

Accordingly he took ſuch an advantage of a ſtorm originally raiſed againſt the whole body of merchants themſelves, that the iſſue of it was Mahmud Ally's periſhing in it: for having ſtood on his defence againſt the new governor Teg-beg Cawn, and being deſerted by that party of the Gentoo merchants eſpecially, over whom, to their afterwards great and vain regret, the influence that Lolldaſs had ſtill retained, though himſelf was on the point of bankruptcy, had prevailed, he fell defenceleſs, in conſequence of a confederacy of them, at which himſelf had been the head, for their mutual protection and ſecurity, by ſuch a turn as could hardly be imagined things could take, and which for the rarity of it, beſides the importance of its conſequences, it may not be diſagreeble to the reader, to ſee a ſummary account.

Mahmud Ally, on having certain intimation, that Sorab Cawn, the Mogul governor of the town, and with whom himſelf had formerly cloſe connections and dealings, was projecting a general extortion from himſelf, and all the merchants of Surat, took care to ſpread the alarm, and invited the merchants to join him, and make a common cauſe againſt the governor; engaging himſelf to bear principally the charges of the conteſt. This league was accordingly formed, and was ſo ſucceſsful, that

that Sorab Cawn was not only expelled his government, but Teg-beg Cawn, by the intereſt of the governor of the caſtle, ſubſtituted in his room, againſt all the rules of good policy, againſt the conſtitution of the ſtate, and eſpecially againſt the inclination of Mahmud Ally. For Teg-beg Cawn had been in that poſt before; but had been revóked for his oppreſſions, and had never thereafter afforded the leaſt room to hope, that he had changed his tyrannical or avaritious temper, and was beſides particularly deteſted by Mahmud Ally; who now found too late, that he had been hurried farther than what he had originally intended, which was the depreſſion, rather than the deſtruction of Sorab Cawn, who was beſides conſiderably his debtor, and began to repent of the exceſſes into which this affair had led him, eſpecially too, as thoſe very merchants, whoſe intereſt was a common one with him, had not only conſtrued his promiſes of bearing the charges of the oppoſition in an unlimited ſenſe, but had paid him ſo little regard, as without conſulting him, or indeed the dictates of common ſenſe, to ſet up a man for governor, againſt whom he had ſuch juſt objections, of a public beſides a private nature.

In this mood of repentance, for a conduct which only ſelf-defence could juſtify, or ſucceſs ſave from the charge and conſequences of open rebellion, againſt a governor appointed by royal authority, he began to relent, and incline, if not towards a reſtoration of Sorab Cawn, at leaſt to wiſh to preſerve him from falling into the hands of his enemies, who would probably have given him no quarter. The intereſt he had in his not being plundered, utterly ruined, and ultimately murdered, who was not only the lawful governor, but alſo his debtor, joined to conſiderations of former friendſhip, engaged him to give this very

governor Sorab Cawn, of whoſe expulſion he had been the original promoter, refuge in his caſtle of Otway, with four others of his retinue, and by this means procured their eſcape.

This however was deemed by the enemies of Sorab Cawn, and eſpecially by Lolldaſs, who had a great hand in ſetting Teg-beg Cawn up, as a perfidious deſertion of the league formed by himſelf: and this advantage he improved, ſo as to inflame both the new governor and all his partizans to ſuch a pitch, that they laid ſiege to the caſtle of Otway, forced it to ſurrender, and, in razing it to the ground, implicitly deſtroyed the capital fortreſs of the liberty of Surat.

Soon after which, on a kind of forced viſit to Teg-beg Cawn, Mahmud Ally was ſeized, made a priſoner, and barbarouſly murdered one night in the apartment where he was confined, by the governor's ruffians. Then the remains of his eſtate were plundered, and his two ſons left entirely at the diſcretion, mercy, and charity of this aſſaſſin of their fathers.

Nor did Lolldaſs long ſurvive the ſucceſs of his ſchemes; for when he ſaw the tragical iſſue of it, which went probably beyond his intentions, in the ſame manner as Mahmud Ally had himſelf been hurried along by the force of conjectures, further than he had meant in his oppoſition to Sorab Cawn; when he ſaw the fatal cataſtrophe of this great and beloved merchant, and all eyes turned upon him, as imputing it to him, that, joined to the diſorders of his own affairs, it was thought broke his heart; he dying ſoon after ſuddenly, without any other cauſe viſibly aſſignable for it, and left his ſons in bankrupt circumſtances.

Without taking on me to juſtify or condemn Mahmud Ally, having only related the facts on the beſt authorities I could procure, I ſhall only

add that his death, which happened in the year 1732, was the epoch of the declenſion of the Surat trade, and the beginning of all the diſorders, embroils, and confuſion that followed, in which the Engliſh were not exempt from their ſhare of ſuffering, and into a ſpecification of which, it could be but little intereſting, and very tedious to enter here *.

I HAVE before obſerved, that the Gentoos were extremely numerous here; eſpecially that tribe or caſt of the Banyans, who are conſtitutionally or profeſſedly merchants. I have often read, often heard them repreſented as a tricking, artful ſet of people, full of low cunning, that made it difficult to deal with them: but this can, I think, only be underſtood, if it be at all true, of the petty, under-dealers among them: for thoſe of them who are properly merchants, in the extenſive ſenſe of that word, are in general the faireſt, openeſt dealers in the world; and thoſe of Surat were eſpecially famous for the ſimplicity and frankneſs of their tranſactions. For example, on a ſhip's importing there, nothing more was to be done, than for the commander, or ſupracargoe, to bring his muſters or ſamples on ſhore, together with his invoice; and the conſiderable merchants reſorting to him, would immediately ſtrike a bargain for the whole cargoe, if the aſſortment ſuited them, with no other trouble than ſettling the per centage upon the items of the invoice. In this manner many a cargoe, from five to ten, twenty, thirty thouſand pounds and upwards, has been ſold in half an hour's time with very few words, and the amount paid down upon the nail, either in ready money,

* See vol. II. p. 320, for the reduction of Surat, by the Engliſh in 1759.

or

or by barter, according as the vender and purchaser agreed, with as much good faith, at least, as is ever observed among the European merchants of the most established character of probity. Then their readiness at running all the hazards of trade was even proverbial, insomuch, that it has not been unjustly observed of them, that if their personal equalled their commercial courage, they would incontestably be the bravest people on the earth. But that is far from the case: one would rather think, by them, that the one excluded the other.

Those Banyans have indeed one constitutional advantage over the European merchants; but then it is such, that these last cannot fairly complain of it, which is their invincible phlegm and coolness in the course of their transactions. Whether you offer them shamefully less than their goods are worth, or fly into passions at their under-rating yours, there is no such thing as provoking them into the least show of passion or indecency. They calmly suffer you to evaporate your resentment without interrupting you, and waiting patiently till your fit of drunkenness is off, for they look on it in no other light, they return cooly to the same point, as if nothing had stirred them from it; and if they depart from it, you may depend that it is not in the least out of any consideration for what you shall have said to them in your fury, but purely for their own ends, and in consequence of their own inward representations to themselves. In that they have, in this point, the same advantage over the Europeans, that a cool gamester has over a passionate one.

But besides the number of Gentoo inhabitants of Surat, its suburbs, and neighboring villages, employed purely in trade, money-changing, brokership, and manufactures, they are often employed in posts under the Moorish government, as col-

lectors,

lectors, ſurveyors of the cuſtoms, and other offices of truſt; eſpecially where accomptantſhip is required, in which they generally excel the Moors, who are bred more in the military way: and it has been obſerved, that none are more rigorous exacters over the Gentoos, nor readier to abet, or even ſet on foot any vexation, or extortion from them, than theſe Gentoos themſelves. One would imagine oppreſſion was their element, and that they could not breathe out of it.

The governor of Surat keeps his ſeat of adminiſtration at what is called the Durbar, where he is generally preſent himſelf, and gives his orders. It is here that all actions criminal and civil are brought before him, and ſummarily diſpatched in the Eaſtern manner. One piece of ſtate too he obſerves, that I have no where before ſeen mentioned, and that is, that he never on any thing material ſpeaks to his attendants, but writes, in the Perſian language, his orders upon little ſlips of paper, that lie by him ready for that purpoſe, and when written, are called Hookums, and muſt be obeyed without reply. Theſe are afterwards brought him, like a return of a judicial proceſs, and being ſtrung, ſerve as a kind of record of his acts of the day.

The Morattoes are however now grown ſo predominant, and their influence is ſo far ſpread into that city itſelf, that unleſs the Mogul government ſhould reſume its aſcendancy, of which there is very little likelihood, the government of it already ſo precarious, muſt ſoon become entirely dependent on them, when it is a queſtion whether even their own clear intereſt in the preſervation of the trade of it, will prevail over that conſtitutional indifference of theirs to it, and that paſſion for preſent pillage, which have been already ſet forth.

At Surat too they excel in the art of ſhip-building. If their models were as fine as thoſe of the Engliſh,

Engliſh, of whom eſpecially they prefer the imitation, there would be no exaggeration in averring, that they build incomparably the beſt ſhips in the world for duration, and that of any ſize, even to a thouſand tons and upwards. But their naval, like their other architecture, has always ſomething clumſy, unfiniſhed, and un-artiſt-like in it; otherwiſe the reign of their ſhips is much longer than that of the European-built ones: it is not uncommon for one of them to laſt a century, and that not ſo much owing to the commonly ſummer ſeas in thoſe parts, as to the ſolidity of their workmanſhip, and the nature of the wood they employ.

As to the firſt, their bottom and ſides are compoſed of planks let in to one another, in the nature as I apprehend of what is called rabbit-work; ſo that the ſeams are impenetrable: and the knees, or crooked timbers, are generally of the natural growth into that form, without being forced or warped by fire, eſpecially where particular care is taken of their conſtruction, and their expence not ſpared.

And as to the wood, it is a ſort, called teak, to the full as durable as oak, and has, beſides this property, that it is not ſo apt in an engagement with cannon-ſhot to fly in ſplinters, which uſually do more miſchief to the men than the balls themſelves. They have alſo a peculiar way of preſerving their ſhips-bottoms, by occaſionally rubbing into them an oil, they call wood-oil, which the planks imbibe, and ſerves greatly to nouriſh and keep them from decay.

They do not launch their ſhips as we do from ſlips; but by digging canals from the water to where the ſtocks, or what they call craddles are, from which they are, as it were, dropped into the ſtream that is brought up to them.

I AM alſo ſenſible, that Surat is not the only place by many in India, where ſhips are built, but none as yet are comparable to them. Pegu is alſo a noted place for ſhip-building; but I never learnt that they were as yet there come into that way of rabbit-work bottoms, which renders the Surat ſhips ſo ſtrong: though I have otherwiſe ſeen very fine veſſels of the built of that country.

THE maſting generally uſed in the country-ſhips, are Pohoon-maſts, chiefly from the Malabar coaſt; but for the cordage, what is worth any thing muſt come from Europe: their coyr-ropes, made of the fibres of coconut-huſks, being for either running or ſtanding-rigging, more harſh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. I have, however, ſeen very ſerviceable and large coyr-cables, which, in oppoſition to the Europe ones, laſt much longer in ſalt-water, freſh being apt to rot them.

THEIR anchors are moſtly European, our iron being much better, and better worked. As to ſails, they are very well ſupplied by the country-manufacture of cotton into a ſail-cloth called dungaree, which, though not ſo ſtrong or laſting as canvaſs, Holland's duck, or vitry, is, while in uſe, more pliant, and leſs apt to ſplit than they are. And for pitch they have the gum of a tree, which is called damar, not at all inferior to the other.

THEIR navigators are very indifferent artiſts; formerly they uſed to get Europeans to command their ſhips; but lately they make a ſhift to do without them, having trained up to it ſome of the natives, who may juſt ſerve in thoſe parts, where they ſeldom put to ſea but in the fair ſeaſon, and where conſequently they rarely meet with ſtorms to try their ſkill. Their common ſailors are rather better in their claſs, though wanting the vigor, expertneſs, and patience of fatigue, in the Europeans. Yet, where ſome of our ſhips have been

too

too far weakened in their crews, by ſickneſs or other caſualties, they have been obliged to borrow the aſſiſtance of theſe black ſailors, or laſcars, to bring them home. The public has here ſeen ſome of them miſerable objects about the ſtreets of London, begging charity, and expoſed to all the diſtreſſes incident to perſons ſo far remote from their native country, friendleſs, and abandoned, for want of knowing the laws and cuſtoms here, which joined to the thoughtleſſneſs one would think natural to thoſe of their rank on that element, rendered them a prey to all the little low deſigning people, among whom their ſtation of life and misfortune had caſt them away.

As to the buildings of Surat, there are ſome very good houſes in their ſtyle of building, which is partly Gentoo, and partly Moriſque. Thoſe of the greateſt note are ſo contrived, that the gateway is defenſible againſt any ſudden irruption of a few armed men : a circumſtance of no ſmall import, in a city, where often the withſtanding the firſt brunt of any perſons ſent by the government to oppreſs, or deſtroy the owner, is attended with future ſecurity, by the alarm raiſing a party to relieve, or oppoſe his proceedings. The private apartments lye backwards, for the greater ſecurity of the women, of whom the Moors eſpecially are remarkably jealous. They are very fond of having one room, at leaſt in particular, where a fountain is kept playing in the midſt of it, by the noiſe of which they are lulled to ſleep, and refreſhed by the coolneſs it diffuſes through the apartment ; but which is attended with a damp, of which I would not adviſe an European to make the experiment. Beſides, the common convenience of eaſtern ſophas, which are ſo commodious for their manner of ſitting croſs-legged, they all like European looking-glaſſes, which are what they chiefly hang their

their rooms with. Another ornament too they have, which has not an ill effect upon the eye, and that is the beams of the chamber-cieling, curiously inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl, like the hand-ſcrutores that come from thence, in floriſhes and ſcroll-work, agreeable to the Moriſque taſte. They have generally a kind of ſaloon, which they call a Diwan, entirely open on one ſide to the garden, where they have fountains playing, which joined to the variegated flower-beds in front of it, of which they are very curious, add to the pleaſantneſs and airineſs of the proſpect. In ſummer, when the heats are moſt intenſe, though never ſo intolerable as in many other places, nor unwholſome that ever I could learn, they have country-receſſes a little way out of town, where they reſide, or go in parties to enjoy themſelves in their gardens and freſcades, by the ſide of the waters with which they are furniſhed. The Engliſh company has eſpecially a very pleaſant garden, kept for the uſe and recreation of the gentlemen of the factory; though lately the incurſions of the Morattoes to the very gates of the city, and the conſtant alarms of the country round, have made thoſe rural receſſes too unſafe to conſiſt with a ſatisfactory enjoyment of them.

The ſtreets of Surat are irregularly laid out; but have one propriety which renders them agreeable to the walkers, in the heat of the day, and that is, a competent width of them being left at bottom, the ſtories of the houſes are carried up ſo projecting over one another, that the uppermoſt apartments on each ſide of the ſtreet are ſo cloſe to one another, that one may with eaſe converſe from them; a way of building, that whilſt it overſhades the ſtreet, does not exclude a free ventilation, which is rather attracted by it. The ſhops however, though in this great trading city, where every

ry thing almoſt that can be aſked for is to be found, have a very mean appearance, the dealers keeping their goods chiefly in warehouſes, and ſelling by ſamples.

As to the living in Surat, I mean for proviſions, I cannot imagine that there is in the world a better place, while the communication eſpecially with the country is open. For to ſay nothing of the abundance of every article which an unbounded importation throws into the market there, the natural productions of the ſoil are excellent in their kind, and thereby atone for their perhaps being leſs cheap, as to the quantity, than at ſome other places of India, as at Bengal eſpecially, where the cattle and poultry are bought at a very low rate, and yet turn out dear by the time they are properly fed for the table. Here then all manner of eatables are at a reaſonable price, ready for immediate uſe, and as good as can any where be found. The wheat of Surat is famous all over India, for its ſingular whiteneſs, ſubſtance, and taſte; and nothing can exceed their ſallads and roots. There are alſo many kinds of wild fowl and game to be had at an eaſy rate.

As to wines and ſpirituous liquors, the Europeans depend chiefly on importation for them, few reliſhing the diſtillery of the country, which however produces various ſtrong ſpirits, to which they give names that would ſeem odd; ſuch as ſpirit of mutton, ſpirit of deer, ſpirit of goat; but for the reaſon they annex to it, which is their throwing into the ſtill, according to the liquor they propoſe, a joint of mutton, a haunch of veniſon, a quarter of a goat, which give reſpectively their names to the diſtillation. This they imagine, how juſtly I do not pretend to know, ſuper-adds to the liquor a certain mellowneſs and ſoftneſs, that corrects the fierineſs of the ſpirit.

AMONG

Among the articles of luxury, which they have in common with other parts of the East, and especially the Mahometans, they have public hummums for bathing, cupping, rubbing and sweating; of which there needs no particular description, being so generally well known. But the practice of champing, which by the best intelligence I could gather is derived from the Chinese, may not be unworthy particularizing, as it is so little known to the modern Europeans; though on my mentioning it here in England, I have been assured, the antients practised something very like it, by the description which a friend pointed out to me: but I leave the reader to judge of the fitness of the quotation.

Percurrit agili corpus arte tractatrix
Manumque doctam spargit omnibus membris.
Mart. Lib. III. Epig. 82.

Seneca too, at the end of his sixty-sixth letter, inveighs against it as a point of luxury crept in among the Romans; which however proves that it was not unknown to them. His words are, *An potius optem ut malacissandos articulos exoletis meis porrigam? ut muliercula, aut aliquis in mulierculam ex viro versus digitulos meos ducat?* "Should I rather wish to hold out my joints to be softened "and suppled by some superannuated chamber-"minion; or suffer a woman, or a man effeminat-"ed into one, to stretch my fingers?" But whether he is right or wrong in his stoical conception of it, the Orientalists annex no idea of indecency or immodesty to it, and the manner of it is this: after the ceremony of sweating, bathing, rubbing, *&c.* is gone through, and which is not always previously used, since many are frequently champed at home, the person that chooses it, lies at his

length on a couch, bed, or ſopha, where the operator handles his limbs as if he was kneading dough, or pats them gently with his hands an edge, and chafes or rubs them, concluding with cracking all the joints of the wriſt and fingers, and if you will allow them that of the neck, being extremely dextrous at this work.. All this, they pretend, not only ſupples the joints, but procures a briſker circulation to the fluids apt to ſtagnate, or loiter through the veins, from the heat of the climate, which is perhaps the beſt excuſe for this practice. The ſenſations it excites in ſome are ſurpriſing, by its inducing a kind of pleaſing langor or delirium, under which they are ready to faint away, and ſometimes actually do ſo. Both Moors and Gentoos are however extremely fond of this practice, and it is ſo common, that it would be hard to find a barbar-native who is not ſkilled in it, as one of the eſſentials of that profeſſion; of which ſome particulars are alſo different from the European. For they ſhave conſtantly with the grain, with great eaſe and dexterity, and have all one uniform ſet of materials, a round glaſs, with a handle ſtuck in their girdle like a dagger, which they put in your hands whilſt you are ſhaving: a little copper tumbler not bigger than a common tea-cup, and ſome inſtruments for picking the ears, and paring the nails, hung on a wire like a bunch of keys, or in a tweezer-caſe. In ſhort, one muſt do the Orientaliſts in general the juſtice to allow, that none are more ſtudious of the cleanlineſs and ſuppleneſs of the body than they are; which they perhaps not abſurdly conceive, conduces even to the pleaſure of the mind, and if even matter of ſenſuality, is ſurely the moſt excuſably ſuch.

The Gentoo women, and thoſe of the beſt faſhion, make no ſcruple of going to the river-ſide, and

and bathing publicly and indifferently in the ſight of the men. They go into the water indeed with their cloaths on; but the wetting them ſoon makes them cleave ſo cloſe to their bodies, that they expreſs very clearly the faſhion and turn of the limbs; a circumſtance which probably gave the Grecian artiſts the firſt notion of employing in ſtatuary a wet drapery, as exhibiting neareſt the juſtneſs of nudity, without its indecency. But when they come out of the water, and change their wet for dry cloaths, it is then that the eye of the moſt curious ſpectator is at fault; for they have ſo dextrous a knack at ſhifting, that though it is done ſo openly, not the leaſt glimpſe of any thing immodeſt can be perceived.

As to public diverſions, or entertainments, I could not learn there were any, except the dancing-girls, and the jugglers.

As to the dancing-girls, they form a diſtinct branch of the community; of which more ſhall be ſaid in its place.

The jugglers, or ſlight-of-hand-men, greatly excel whatever I have ſeen or heard of them in Europe. Their tricks and deceptions in ſhort are ſo amazing, that I confeſs I have not the courage to relate what I have myſelf been eye-witneſs to, or been credibly aſſured of, for fear of being taxed with running into that marvellous of which travellers are ſo fond. One ſtory, however, I cannot help relating, though digreſſively on this occaſion, as I think it does honor to humanity, and not the leſs, for being found in ſo low and deſpicable a claſs.

A long-boat with men going up from an Engliſh ſhip, to Calcutta, a fortified ſettlement we have on the banks of the Ganges in Bengal, ſtopped ſhort of it a conſiderable way, waiting for the return of the tide, and went on ſhore to a mooriſh

village, where juſt at that time were ſome of theſe jugglers ſhewing, to a mob gathered round them, their various tricks; one of which, and no juggle, was the firing a piſtol loaded with powder down one of their throats. On the arrival of the ſailors, this was to be repeated, for they had before done it, but their powder having been conſumed, one of the ſailors innocently offered the man ſome he had about him. It was accepted, and the effect of it was, that being much ſtronger than what they uſed for this purpoſe, it killed the man upon the ſpot. As he was a Mahometan, and the whole village was ſo, the mob inſtantly roſe, and were preparing to maſſacre all the ſailors there, in revenge for the Muſſulman's blood, and would infallibly have done ſo, but for the humane interpoſition of the jugglers themſelves, who declared, that however ſorry they might be for the death of their brother, it was by no means imputable to the Engliſh, who were evidently clear of any malicious deſign in it. This alone appeaſed the populace, and the ſailors were ſuffered to return quietly to their boat.

There is one particular branch of the art of theſe jugglers, I cannot paſs by, too well atteſted to doubt of it, and of which thoſe who practiſe it never refuſe giving the cleareſt proof; which is their incantation of ſnakes; I ſay incantation, though no doubt it is to be naturally accounted for, however incapable I am of it. When a ſnake lurking in an houſe has bit any perſon, one of theſe men being ſent for, will, with an inſtrument ſomething reſembling a flageolet, play certain tunes upon it, the ſound of which operates ſo powerfully on the ſnake, that he comes out of his hole, forced as it were, and with apparent reluctance preſents itſelf to thoſe ready to kill him. I am fully aware of the ridicule this will meet with from many; but prefer

even

even the certainty of incurring it, to the ſuppreſ-ſion of what I tried myſelf to diſbelieve till convinced of it. In the mean time this incredulity, often indeed well founded, but when too general has this ill effect, that it prevents examinations, which might iſſue in very valuable diſcoveries.

At Surat, all religions are tolerated; than which nothing can be more political, eſpecially in a place of ſuch univerſal trade. The Moors, who are the maſters, ſeem to relax of that rigor and fondneſs for making of proſelytes, they have in moſt other parts where their religion prevails. They are ſo little curious of encouraging apoſtates, that there are very rare inſtances of any, and thoſe, generally ſpeaking, live and die neglected and miſerable. If they take an European into their ſervice, as they ſometimes do, in quality of gunners, for they think all Europeans are born engineers, they never trouble their heads with what religion they are of, or moleſt them about it.

The inhabitants in and about Surat are commonly very induſtrious, and have on foot a number of manufactures, which it would be too tedious to ſpecify; but the moſt conſiderable is that of their atlaſſes, or ſattins flowered with gold or ſilver, which have a rich ſubſtantial look, though otherwiſe in a very indifferent taſte. The flowers ill fancied, and without air, and the red color which is moſtly uſed, for the ground, dull and unſightly.

Some ſhawls are manufactured there; but few and not of the fineſt ſort, thoſe coming from the province of Cachemire on the borders of Tartary, being made of a peculiar kind of ſilky hair, that produces from the loom a cloth beautifully bordered at both ends, with a narrow flowered ſelvage, about two yards and a half long, and a yard and a half wide, which without farther trouble of mak-

ing up, ferves the natives for a wrapper or mantle; and, according to the price, which is from ten pounds and upwards to fifteen fhillings, joins to exquifite finenefs, a fubftance that renders them extreamly warm, and fo pliant, that the fine ones are eafily drawn through a common ring for the fingers.

The manufacturers have a commodious way, when their work has not been befpoke, as it commonly is by the wholefale merchants, to make a quick fale of it: they repair to the Bazar, or market-place, where they ftand and hold up the piece ready finifhed, to any chapman that fhall offer their price, much in the fame manner as our farmers ftand in rows at a country-market, with famples of grain in their hands, and they rarely return without difpofing of them, as there are a number of petty dealers attend the market for the purchafing of them, thus at the firft hand, and vend them afterwards in quantities to the greater merchants. This cuftom will be hardly thought a bad one, as it is a continual incentive to induftry, by fhewing it an eafy and affured vent of its produce, and befides, frees the poor manufacturers from the tyranny of the wholefale dealers.

Surat too being the only fea-port of very confiderable note, and unpoffeffed by the Europeans, in the whole immenfe dominions of the Mogul, it is eafily imaginable that the inland trade, efpecially to Delly and Agra, the capital refidences of that court, which are about a month's journey from Surat, muft employ a number of caravans, or caffilahs, for the diftribution of the imports. But unfortunately the roads, never perfectly fafe, on account of the independent Rajahs, are lately grown much lefs fo, from the troubles and convulfions of the whole country.

Formerly

Formerly the ſecurity of them was provided for by a very ſingular expedient. The whole caravan at ſetting out was put under the protection of one ſingle perſon, a boy, but ofteneſt a woman, hired and ſelected from a caſt ſacred for that purpoſe among the Gentoos, from whoſe free-booter's tribes all the danger of the journey ariſes. When any of theſe met with the caravans, on a deſign to pillage them, it was the duty of this ſingle guard to interpoſe, and proteſt againſt the violence, with a ſolemn threat to kill him or herſelf in caſe they perſiſted: which threat was always attended with the execution, if the robbers proceeded further; and the ſure conſequence was, their incurring thereby all the guilt of ſacrilege, and the penalty both of a civil and religious excommunication never to be taken off, being thereby for ever degraded, deteſted, and renounced by their own tribes. I do not however believe that this cuſtom ſtill ſubſiſts: whether the race of thoſe faithful ſuicides is extinguiſhed; or what is moſt probable, that the Gentoos have made their religion yield to their ruling paſſion for plunder, and brought this cuſtom into diſuſe, from their ceaſing by common conſent to reſpect it.

Betwixt Surat and Bombay there is a conſtant intercourſe preſerved, not only by ſea, the diſtance being but ſmall, but by Pattamars, or foot-meſſengers, over land, which are uſed in the ſame way throughout India, and hired at a moderate rate, who carry letters to add fro. They are very expeditious in their journeys, and commonly uſe opium, which they think fortifies them, and by this means will keep on running, and dozing as it were at the ſame time with their eyes open, and without feeling the fatigues of the way.

And here having mentioned opium, I ſhall take the liberty of a ſmall digreſſion thereon, that I may

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not return to it again. It is not then only the Pattamars, who take opium in the intention of ſtrengthening their powers for ſervice, but moſt of the hard laboring people of Surat, and eſpecially the Hamalls or porters, who make a livelihood of carrying goods to and from the warehouſes, and will endure ſuch loads, as few of the ſtouteſt Europeans can undertake. I have been credibly aſſured, that ſome of theſe fellows will take at one doze three copper gorze weight of this drug, without danger; which is conſiderably above an ounce weight, and pretend that it greatly enables them to work and carry burthens.

Many of the rich and great contract a habit of it, but with different views; conſidering it not only as a high point of ſenſuality, from the pleaſing deliriums they experience from it, but as a ſpecific for procuring a priapiſm that ſerves to ſpin out the venereal congreſs, as long as they pleaſe, by taking a competent doſe of it, uſually in a vehicle of milk, boiled away from a large to a ſmall quantity; and when they have a mind to check or put an end to its operation, they do it by ſwallowing a ſpoonful or two of lime-juice, or of any equivalent acid. By this means, however, it commonly happens that the uſers of it, by forcing nature, wear out its ſprings, and bring on themſelves prematurely all the inconveniences of old age: but this is a conſideration that weighs little with the generality of the Orientaliſts, always more actuated by any preſent favorite objects, than by a providential regard for remote ones.

If you would believe them too, there is a kind of paradoxical mixture of effects in the operation of this drug, cauſing at once a ſeeming heavineſs of the head, and viſible ſleepineſs of the eye, and yet withal a great watchfulneſs; in confirmation

of

of which, the following ſtory paſſes current at Surat.

That one of its town-governors, on receiving a viſit from a Gentoo-rajah, with whom he was in friendly correſpondence, at a garden juſt out of the city-walls, they met with each their guards and attendants, and without any of that treachery, which is not uncommon among them, intended on either ſide. As they were walking together in the garden, the governor took notice of the Rajah's guards, who were ſquatted down in their manner, under an open guard-room, with their heads leaning, or rather nodding upon their naked ſwords, and to all appearance dozing, or faſt aſleep. The governor then ſmiling remarked to the Rajah, that he had a very juſt opinion of his good faith, ſince he would venture himſelf to this interview with guards in ſuch a condition, from the opium he knew it was their cuſtom to take. "That, ſays the Rajah, is your miſtake, and to "prove it to you, if you have any body near you, "of whom you do not care what becomes, bid him "as ſoftly as he pleaſes, pluck a flower out of any "of their turbants." The governor, who either had ſuch a perſon at hand, or did not apprehend the conſequence, ordered one he pitched upon, to do what the Rajah had mentioned; in proceeding to which, with all the caution recommended, and addreſſing himſelf to him, who ſeemed the moſt overcome with ſleep, the Rajah's guard felt it, and without more ceremony, at one ſtroke cut off his arm, and the reſt were inſtantly alert, and on foot: and thus the governor was ſatisfied of their vigilance, at the expence indeed of a ſervant, whoſe being guilty enough to deſerve an expoſure to ſuch a trial, or innocent, was probably no great matter of conſequence under that perfectly arbitrary government.

Opium

Opium is alſo conſidered by theſe people as ſuch a ſpecific inſpirer of courage, or rather heedleſſneſs of danger, that the commanders make no ſcruple of allowing it their ſoldiers, eſpecially when employed on any very perilous or deſperate enterprize.

The beſt in the world is ſaid to come from Patna, on the river Ganges, where at leaſt the greateſt traffic of it is made, and from thence exported all over India; though in ſome parts of it, eſpecially on the Malay-coaſt, it is prohibited under pain of death, from the madneſs, and the murderous effects of that madneſs, it has on the inhabitants; and yet the gain attending this article, makes it be ſmuggled into thoſe countries, in ſpite of all the laws and precautions againſt it.

The ſoil about the Ganges is accounted the beſt for producing the ſtrongeſt ſort of opium; of which one inſtance occurs to me, too remarkable to ſuppreſs the mention of it. A Nabob or viceroy of thoſe parts having invited an Engliſh factory to an entertainment, a young gentleman, a writer in the company's ſervice, ſauntering about the garden, plucked a poppy, and ſucked the head of it, probably not apprehending any greater force in it, than thoſe plants have in England. The conſequence was his falling into a profound ſleep, of which the Nabob being apprized, and in much concern, eagerly enquired of the particular bed out of which the poppy was gathered by him, and on being told it, with great expreſſion of ſorrow, apologized for his having ſuppoſed that the nature of the poppies was in general too well known to have needed any warning, eſpecially as the taſte was ſo far from tempting, but that this peculiar ſort, on which the Engliſh gentleman was ſo unfortunate to pitch, admitted of no human remedy or counter-poiſon, ſo that nothing could ſave him, as effectually it turned out, for that ſleep was his laſt.

Bang

Bang is alſo greatly uſed at Surat, as well as all over the Eaſt, an intoxicating herb, of which it may be needleſs to ſay more after ſo many writers, who have fully deſcribed it: and it is hard to ſay what pleaſure can be found in the uſe of it, being very diſagreeable to the taſte, and violent in its operation, which produces a temporary madneſs, that in ſome, when deſignedly taken for that purpoſe, ends in running what they call a-muck, furiouſly killing every one they meet, without diſtinction, until themſelves are knocked on the head, like mad dogs. But by all accounts this practice is much rarer in India than it formerly was.

But, to reſume my more immediate ſubject; I am to obſerve, that the intercourſe between Bombay and Surat is not without great reaſon kept up, from the conſtant attention which is to be had to the company's inveſtment, in the country-manufactures that is carried on there, and to the ſale of the ſtaple-goods ſent out from England to that ſide of India, of which Surat is the capital mart, though lately greatly declined through the embroils of the country.

The manufactures peculiar to that province of Guzarat, are chiefly carried on by the induſtry of the Parſees, or the race of Perſian refugees, who, ſome centuries ago, fled from the face of the Mahometan perſecution, then invaders and conquerors of the Perſian dominions. They were brought to theſe parts where they and their race have ever ſince continued *, in three veſſels, in which they embarked with the utmoſt precipitation and confuſion, and committed themſelves to the wind and weather, to be carried into whatever country would receive them. By tradition, and according to all probability, as being the moſt obnoxious to

* Except a few who have lately ſettled at Bombay.

the conquerors, there were among them ſome of the principal men of the country. Nowrojee-Ruſtumjee, who was here in England, and whoſe family was in the greateſt conſideration among thoſe people, deduced his deſcent from thoſe kings of Perſia, whoſe dynaſty was deſtroyed by the Mahometan invaſion, when the laſt prince of it, Izdigerdes, a deſcendant from Coſroes, the ſon of Hormiſdas, was dethroned and ſlain about the year 650. But whether his pretenſions were juſt or not, or whether the rank of thoſe fugitives was in general as high as their poſterity aſſert it was; when they arrived at the country where Surat ſtands, they were hoſpitably received by the Gentoo inhabitants, who compaſſionated their diſtreſs, and were perhaps themſelves alarmed with reaſon, as it proved afterwards at the progreſs of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a ſtorm, on a country not very diſtant from them.

I KNOW there are ſeveral fabulous traditions of theſe refugees having landed where they firſt ſaw a fire, which they looked on as a propitious landmark to them, and that the Gentoos made a covenant with them, that they ſhould conform to their cuſtoms, eſpecially as to their abſtaining from all animal food. But I never could learn, that theſe points of their hiſtory were atteſted by any authentic teſtimonials, or credited by the principal perſons among them. The ſole article of any conſequence impoſed on them was, that they ſhould not kill any cows, or beaſts of that ſpecies, which the Parſees their deſcendants to this day avoid, as looking upon themſelves to be bound and concluded by that agreement of their anceſtors; and even at Bombay, where they have the full liberty of acting as they pleaſe in that reſpect, I could never learn that they departed from this reſtriction. They alſo, in many other reſpects, adopted the manners

manners and cuſtoms of the Gentoos, rather from imitation than any neceſſity; though otherwiſe they have kept their race unmixt. The wretched remnant of the Parſees who ſtaid behind in Perſia, and weathered out the ſtorm, acknowledge theſe Parſees for their brethren: but there does not appear to have been any farther correſpondence, or connection eſtabliſhed between them. The truth is, that the Guzarat-Parſees ſeem to have entirely forgot their original country; and from a long habituation, continued through ſo many generations, to conſider India as their proper country; even though from the laws of it, admitting no mixture by proſelytiſm, or intermarriage, they muſt for ever remain a ſtranger race. They are generally fairer than the native Indians, eſpecially the coaſters; though moſtly and at beſt of a ſallow yellowiſh hue; but the women, thoſe of them who are kept up and not employed in hard work, are tolerably clear ſkinned. They are moſt of them an induſtrious people, and the neceſſity probably that obliged their anceſtors on their firſt arrival to betake themſelves to labor for a livelihood in a ſtrange country, has ſo far propagated its influence on the ſpirit and manners of their deſcendants, that they are the chief ſupporters of the Surat manufactures, and of agriculture. Numbers of them are alſo employed in ſhip-building, and in the diſtillery-trade; which laſt commonly flouriſhes or ſickens according as the Mooriſh governors of Surat, for the time being, are ſuperſtitious obſervers or not, of the Mahometan law; which however, rather adviſes againſt the drinking of ſpirituous liquors, than it formally condemns it, ſeveral paſſages of the alcoran ſeeming rather levelled againſt the abuſe than the uſe of them, though expreſſed in ſuch a manner, as if the law-giver had known human nature well enough

to think it eaſier totally to abſtain from a pleaſure, than to be moderate in it.

For the reſt, none, or but inconſiderably few of the Parſees, either meddle at all with the government, or with the military; ſubmitting quietly to the power that is uppermoſt, whether Gentoo or Mooriſh, and conſequently for their uſefulneſs and inoffenſiveneſs, generally meet with protection from both.

At preſent the Mooriſh government, at leaſt nominally, prevails at Surat, though greatly declined and over-awed by their neighbors the Morattoes, with whom it is obliged to temporize and keep ſuch meaſures as nearly reſemble a ſubmiſſion. Nor is it likely but things may ſoon end in that, unleſs the Moors, who are too much outnumbered by the Gentoos to have any hopes of ſucceeding againſt them, ſhould be enabled by foreign aſſiſtance to re-aſſume their former aſcendancy, and once more drive the Gentoos back into their mountains and faſtneſſes.

As matters now ſtand, the Mooriſh ſovereign of Indoſtan, ſo known by the title of Mogul, or rather as it ſhould be Mongul, is no more than a phantom on the throne, ever ſince the invaſion and retreat of Shah Nadir; reigning precariouſly, and at the pleaſure of the principal Gentoo-Rajahs, who raiſe, depoſe, and even murder him, juſt as their intereſt or humor prompts them. The name of the Mogul-ſovereignty would ſoon ceaſe to exiſt, if they could agree among themſelves whom to ſubſtitute; and this very indetermination may not improbably be the occaſion of their loſing the ground they have won, eſpecially if ſome of the Mahometan neighboring powers ſhould be tempted either to reſtore the authority of the Moguls, or to plant themſelves in his place; and either of theſe

events

events is eſpecially to be apprehended from the north-eaſt Tartars, bordering upon Indoſtan, who are now greatly recruited in numbers ſince the exhauſtment of thoſe countries by the draughts out of them, of thoſe ſwarms with which the two great conquerors, Ginghis Cawn and Tamerlane, ſubdued almoſt all Aſia, carrying havock and deſolation wherever their arms penetrated, and terror to remoter parts, and even to Europe itſelf. But, as a ſummary account of theſe mighty leaders may give a clearer notion of ſome points neceſſary to account for the preſent conſtitution and poſition of Indoſtan, I hope it will not be thought out of place, or impertinent to my ſubject.

GINGHIS CAWN, about the year 1200, after collecting under his ſtandard an innumerable army of theſe north-eaſt Tartars, which he had the influence to unite under him, though out of various tribes and nations before then utterly diſcordant, and living much like the ſavages of America, not only brought into ſubjection the great kingdom of China, and the nations bordering upon it, on the outſide of the famous wall of that country, but extended his conqueſts to a great part of Aſia, then and now poſſeſſed by the Mahometans, to whom he profeſſed himſelf a greater enemy than to the Chriſtians, whom he rather favored. As to himſelf, he was undoubtedly of that religion, which is called the religion of the great and learned of China, who hold no other object of worſhip but purely the *Thein*, or ſovereign Being. This made him indifferent to all religions, and of courſe a tolerant; for as to the Mahometans he proſecuted them more on a political account, than for any particular averſion he had to their tenets. His ſons however, after his deceaſe, ſoon found that a conformity to the Mahometan ſyſtem, would greatly advance their temporal ſcheme of ſettling

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in the government of thoſe rich countries, ſo preferable to the mountains and wilds of Tartary. Accordingly moſt of them adopted the muſſulman faith, and made it their ſtate-religion, to ſatisfy this new ſubject, though for the reſt they acted as being far from bigots to it; as for inſtance, when Holagu Cawn, a grandſon of Ginghis Cawn, purſuing his conqueſts over Perſia, Syria, and Meſopotamia, at length took Bagdad by ſtorm, and without reſpect to the ſacredneſs of character among the Mahometans, of the line of the Caliphs, he exterminated the laſt of it in the perſon of Motazem, whom he put to death in the moſt ignominious manner, by having him dragged about the ſtreets of Bagdad till he expired. Even though Motazem appeared before him in the quality of a ſupplicant, and in the hopes of aſſwaging his wrath, had on his ſhoulders the very cloak Mahomet had once worn, and given, in a tranſport of applauſe, to Caab a poet, on his reading ſome Arabian verſes to him. He had beſides in his hands the ſtaff of that prophet; but that holy trumpery availed him nothing, for the Tartar-general ordered the cloak and ſtaff to be taken from him, and to be burnt in a pan, the aſhes to be thrown into the Tygris, not out of any contempt, as he pretended, but to hinder thoſe precious relics from falling thereafter into profane hands. This Motazem was at once the laſt of the Abbaſſid line, and of the caliphs of the Mahometans, whoſe authority had been long confined to purely ſpirituals, after having been for more than three centuries ſtripped of their temporal power; for one of them, in the year 935, having unadviſedly wholly truſted it to the chief of the military, a Turk called Rayk, who thenceforwards knew how to keep it, and transferred it to his ſucceſſors in his office, long famous in Aſia, under

the title of Emir-al-omrah, commander of the commanders, and afterwards by that of ſultan, who governed both the ſtate and the caliphs deſpotically, till they and the caliphate itſelf fell under the ſuperior ſtrength of the Tartar invaders.

But this Tartar-family ſoon after experienced the fate that uſually attends the partition of an empire. For the deſcendants of Ginghis Cawn quarrelling among themſelves, with all that inveteracy which uſually attends diſcord among relations, the whole race in a little time, either fell by one another's ſwords, or by the other Mahometan powers reſuming courage and ſtrength by their diviſions, ſo that at preſent not even a remnant of that family exiſts in any ſtate of power, except one branch of it, in the Crim or Precopian Tartary, which traces up a very dubious original to Ginghis Cawn, and is now a precarious tributary dependent on the Ottoman Porte, under the title of Khan or Cawn of Tartary. In ſhort, in leſs than two centuries there was a clear ſtage, as to any material oppoſition from the princes of that race, even in Tartary itſelf, for Tamerlane to aſſume the ſupreme authority, who treading exactly in his ſteps, over-ran the greateſt part of Aſia, with a great army of Tartars, and in 1402, gave that celebrated defeat to Bajazet whom he took priſoner. But as if it had been fatal for thoſe of that country to make conqueſts with more eaſe than they could preſerve them, in ſcarce more than a century, all his deſcendants, from the very ſame error of partition, and its conſequences, were extinguiſhed except that branch of it, which had penetrated into Indoſtan, and conquered it from the Pattans. Theſe were alſo Mahometans, of the race of thoſe Sarracens, who, after they had ſpread their conqueſts over Aſia and Africa, had not neglected the rich provinces of India. For a party of Arabs,

and that not a very numerous one, had ſome centuries before Tamerlane and his ſons invaſion, made a deſcent at Maſſulipatnam on the coaſt of Coromandel, where, meeting with no reſiſtance from an effeminate unwarlike people, they ſoon penetrated into the heart of Indoſtan, and planted and maintained their ſeat of empire where it now is, about Agra and Dehli, till they were driven out by the ſuperior force of the Tartars. Whilſt the Gentoo Rajahs, through their wonted diſunion and indolence, ſaw the change with indifference, or at leaſt without materially taking part on either ſide.

The Pattans however being thus diſpoſſeſſed, thoſe of them who eſcaped the ſword, or would not ſubmit to the conqueror, fled to the mountains that lye towards the borders of Perſia, where, only ſollicitous to preſerve their lives and independence, they formed a ſeparate ſtate, never thoroughly ſubdued by the Moguls, and yet never in a condition to diſpute the field with them, but always troubleſome, eſpecially on their aſſociating with other tribes of the Gentoo mountaineers, as the Raſhpoots, Coolies, and Warrells, and occaſionally exerciſing their depredations on the adjacent countries, without its being poſſible for the Moguls to come at them to extirpate them, eſpecially ſince themſelves ſoon became enervated by the deliciouſneſs of thoſe fruitful plains.

Nay the Pattans themſelves ſeem ſo convinced, that the climate and ſoil of thoſe provinces only ſerve to rob them of that hardineſs they contract in the hills to which they are confined, that they have hitherto given no indications of a deſire to exchange them for more pleaſing abodes, or a more acceſſible ſituation. This it was that enabled them to brave even the victorious army of Nadir-ſhaw, whom they very quietly ſuffered to penetrate into Indoſtan, and waited his return when loaded with the ſpoils

ſpoils of that country. Then it was that by their harraſſment of his troops in the ſtreights and defiles of the mountains, they ſhewed him they were ſo much maſters of the paſſes, as to force him to come to a compoſition with him for way-leave, that had all the air of a ranſom.

What then between theſe unſubdued Pattans and the independant Gentoo-Rajahs, and both inacceſſibly fortified in their mountains, it is evident, that the Mogul government had conſtantly a hard taſk to keep up a tolerably ſecure footing. Nor was it without at leaſt as much art as ſtrength, that it preſerved its power, and eſpecially with the Gentoos, whom as the moſt numerous, and being beſides the Aborigines of the country, it had moſt reaſon to apprehend. Either then from a deſpair of totally reducing them, or from a growing indolence, the Mogul ſucceſſors to Tamerlane applied themſelves to the winning over at leaſt to ſome ſhow of homage and ſubmiſſion, the powerfulleſt of the Gentoo-Rajahs. And this they chiefly effectuated by their great toleration and eaſineſs in point of religion.

It has before been obſerved, that the governing theology in proper Tartary, was the ſame as it is in China, and perhaps derived from China, ſo that the Mahometan religion profeſſed by the Moguls, in imitation of Tamerlane the founder of their dynaſty, was rather matter of political conformity, than of perſuaſion, ſo that it did not coſt them much to relax on this article. Even Aurengzeb himſelf, who was ſo ſtrict an obſerver of his law, is no exception to this, ſince it is well known, that he made his pretences to ſuperior zeal and auſterity, ſerve to the ends of acquiring and eſtabliſhing his uſurpation over his father, and over his brothers, whom he over-reached by purely theſe arts of diſſimulation, by which he recom-

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mended himſelf to the Mahometan zealots in the army. All the Moguls then ſince Tamerlane took the party of toleration, the eaſier for that deiſm, which made all religions at bottom indifferent to them, whilſt they amuſed thoſe of all religions with a favorable diſpoſition towards them. Even ſome Roman-catholic prieſts, who had occaſionally been careſſed, and ſome even invited to that court, were the bubbles of this eaſineſs in the Moguls, to liſten to them, and even to permit their ſons, and princes of their blood to give them hopes of being proſelytes to them.

THEY would then, no doubt, for any ſcruples of their own to the contrary, have with reſpect to the Gentoos, acted the ſame part, as the Tartar princes had done with reſpect to the Mahometans. They would have politically embraced the Gentoo religion: but as one of its fundamentals is, the rejection of all proſelytes to it, they could not, even had their perſuaſion been real, have paid them that compliment: all they could do, and that they did, was to appear entirely averſe to any perſecution on a religious account, and for the reſt they continued Mahometans at large, in reſpect to the neighboring Mahometan powers, whom a throwing off entirely the appearances of that religion would have ſcandalized, and indiſpoſed againſt them, to no purpoſe.

HERE I am ſenſible that the procedure of the Mogul-moors in deſtroying the temples and idols of the Gentoos, in many parts of the country, ſeems to contradict the idea I have attempted to give, on the beſt information I could get, of the Moguls ſpirit of toleration. For the fact is certainly true; though theſe outrages were never that I could learn committed, but in the heat of war, and in conſequence of the provocations that attend it; beſides that, ſome of their generals were hurried

ried on by their private zeal, ſo as to loſe ſight of the general ſyſtem of the court-policy; and what is more convincing yet is, that the Gentoo-Rajahs themſelves always looked on thoſe ſeverities as particular caſes of exception, or at leaſt never appeared to formally reſent them.

But whilſt the Moguls thus aimed at making their government the more eaſy, and ſupportable to that infinite number of Gentoos, by indulging them in the free exerciſe of their religion, they did not alſo neglect the policy of keeping up the diviſions and jealouſies among the moſt powerful Rajahs from whom they had moſt to apprehend: and in this they ſucceeded to their wiſh, and might probably long have continued the tranquillity of their government, but for the relaxation and indolence into which the latter Moguls fell. Inſtead then of keeping a ſtrict hand over the emirs, or great officers of the court, known by the title of omrahs, which is only the plural of emir, they ſuffered them to encroach on the royal authority, and themſelves became ſubjected to that emir, who had obtained moſt influence and intereſt with the military. And here again the Mogul was only defended from utter depoſition by the jealouſies, and not the loyalty, of the great emirs among themſelves, whoſe object of competition was, which of them ſhould get poſſeſſion of the Mogul's perſon, and reign under the ſhelter of a title, beyond which, and his ſeraglio or haram, they left him ſcarce any ſign of power. Some, even of the emirs, who were inveſted with the government of the greater provinces, not only fortified themſelves in them, and aſſerted an independence barely ſalved by a nominal homage, but entered into treaties with the Gentoo-Rajahs for their mutual ſupport. Thus the famous Nizam-al-muluck, formerly known by the name of Chicklis-Cawn, by leaving

his ſon in his government, and beſides ſecured by his confederacy with the Morattoes, durſt venture his perſon to court, where his practiſes were perfectly known, and for the which being known, he was but the ſafer; and, though he had many potent enemies there, his competitors for power, he had influence and management enough to procure one of the higheſt poſts of the ſtate, and to impoſe on his ſovereign the hardeſt of all neceſſities, that of employing and truſting a traitor knowing him to be one. But even not ſatisfied with his domeſtic treaſons, and finding the credit of his enemies at court encreaſing againſt him, he invited the Perſian Shah-Nadir, better perhaps known in Europe under the name of Thamas-Kouli Khawn, to invade the Mogoliſtan, pointing it out to him as an eaſy prey, conſidering the luxurious effeminate diſpoſition of a court, weakened moreover by inteſtine diſſentions. Shah-Nadir, whoſe ruling paſſion was avarice and rapacioufneſs, greedily liſtening to a propoſal that ſo much flattered it, entered into Nizam-al-muluck's ſchemes, and accordingly, after taking Candahar, that capital fortreſs which is the grand inlet into that empire, invaded India, where his expedition met with that ſucceſs, which has been too fully deſcribed by a Perſian writer, tranſlated by Mr. Frazer, to need a repetition here.

This event, however, ſo enfeebled the Mogul government, that the Gentoo-Rajahs beginning to feel more their own ſtrength, ſeem now greatly to prevail, and will probably keep their aſcendant, unleſs, as has before been obſerved, ſome of the hardy nations bordering on Indoſtan, ſhould ſupport the Mooriſh intereſt, and revindicate thoſe rich provinces, of which the Mogul government has either loſt poſſeſſion, or where its intereſt is

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visibly declined. And in this they have the better chance to succeed, as the bulk of the Gentoos themselves prefer a Moorish to a Gentoo-government, for reasons on which I have already sufficiently touched *.

As to the Moguls themselves, or rather the principal Moorish courtiers, for the Indians vulgarly involve them all under that appellation, though numbers of them are originally from Persia, or other parts Tartary, they, generally speaking, affect great state and splendor, according to their various appointments, and posts; and none study more the luxuries of life, though in a manner and taste somewhat different from the Europeans.

They take care to have their seraglios, or harams, furnished with the handsomest women that can be procured for love or money. Those of Cashmire are the most preferred in the Mogolistan, as the Georgians and Circassians are over Persia and Turkey; and with reason, being much fairer than in any other province of the Mogolistan, and having besides the advantage of a delicacy in shape and make, which is chiefly in request among them. This taste they even push to such an extravagance, as to scruple no price hardly for a female slave, which to her other beauties should have that added of a plumpness covering the smallest bones that can be imagined, for in the bone they think the weight chiefly consists, and therefore those who weigh the least, are by them reckoned the rarest and most delicate pieces. Those who, among us, pass for comely majestic-dames, would not meet

* For a farther account of the emperors of Indostan from Tamerlane in 1398 to his descendant Mahomed Shah in 1730: the power of Nizam-al-Muluck: the conquest of Indostan by Nadir Shah in 1738; and the declension of the Great Mogul's power, see the introduction to my second volume.

with admirers among thofe people. As to all their women, however, when fhut up in their harams, they are extreamly jealous of them, and follow the ufual Afiatic method of committing them to the guard of eunuchs, moftly made fuch by a total abfciffion. The blackeft Abyffinian ones too are preferred, not only on account of their color not appearing fo tempting, but for their fidelity and difcretion, in which they excel the flaves of all other nations. In the mean time nothing can be well imagined more cruel, or more contrary to the benevolent inftitutes of nature, than thus facrificing a number of poor creatures to the caprice and jealoufy of one man, who perhaps amidft three or four hundred, nay as far as a thoufand and upwards, confines his embraces to a very few of them, whilft the others, in the flower of their age, and with all the violence of the melting paffion, infpired and nurfed by the heat of the climate, pine away with unfatisfied defires. And fometimes the rage of them is fo great, as to make them feek for relief, even to the greateft hazard of their lives.

THIS engroffing of fuch numbers of women, befides being attended with fuch tragical events, and the injuftice of rendering miferable and ufelefs fo many of that amiable fex, befides the injury done to the population of the country, has another worfe confequence, and that almoft all over the Eaft where this cuftom fo much prevails; as it inclines both the great and the meaner fort to the nefarious fin, the fame effect refulting from two very different caufes. For as this cuftom neceffarily thins fociety of the women, that would otherwife appear on the ranks for wives; the poorer fort, from the fcarcity of that fex, in the neceffity of giving their paffions a vent, betake themfelves to their own; whilft on the other hand,

hand, the abundance of it at command of the rich, breeds a ſatiety that operates the ſame diſpoſition. So that every conſideration, human and divine, ſeems to eſtabliſh the preference of the European law permitting but one wife, to the polygamy and concubinage of the Orientaliſts.

In ſhort, the Moguls have chiefly adopted not only the language of the Perſians, which is entirely in uſe at court; but their manners, and refinements of luxury.

Their buildings are all in the Perſian ſtile; and they are, like them, fond of fine gardens, and eſpecially of water, both dormant and in action from natural or artificial caſcades, the climate ſupplying them with plenty of ever-greens. In the midſt of the gardens, they have commonly neat, airy pavilions, contrived with ſpecial regard to coolneſs, where the owners indulge themſelves in parties of pleaſure with their women, in the heat of the day, and in the cool of the evening on the ſides of their ponds, finely ornamented with ſteps down to the water-ſide, and in the middle, on every ſide of the oblong ſquare, which is generally the figure of them, with places for recumbence, ſpread with Perſian or Turky carpets. Their gardens are commonly pretty much like the Chineſe, in a wilderneſs ſtile, with this particularity, that the door is generally at a corner of the wall, inſtead of being in the middle, as is the European manner. By this means the avenue to the pavilion does not front it, ſo as to preſent to its view the length of a gravel, or tediouſly uniform green walk; inſtead of which they prefer, for the pleaſure of the eye, beds of flowers, as variegated as poſſible, and in all the confuſion of wild nature, which are immediately ſubjacent to every ſide of the pavilion, to whoſe corners only the walks obliquely lead, ſo as not to interſect thoſe flower ſpots.

ſpots. As to ſtatues, knots, quaint devices, or ſymmetrized compartments, they have happily no idea of, or taſte for them.

One of their great diverſions at theſe receſſes, and indeed at all their public entertainments, which diverſion too they have in common with the Gentoos, are the dancing-girls; for whom they ſend to a particular place, either of their diſtrict or town, and of whom there are never wanting a competent number for the uſe of the public, to which they are ſo devoted, that one may ſafely ſay, that thoſe of this profeſſion have made vows of unchaſtity which they religiouſly keep. For according to their inſtitutes, they are bound to refuſe no one for their price, which is not indeed ſtated, but governed by their rate of beauty and accompliſhments. There are even particular ſets of them appropriated to the ſervice of the Gentoo-temples, and the uſe of the Bramin-prieſts that belong to them. But wherever they are, whether ſettled or ambulatory, which laſt is often the caſe, they live in a band or community, under the direction of ſome ſuper-annuated female of the ſame profeſſion, under whom they receive a training, as regular as in an academy, or like horſes in a manage, and learn all the paces, and acts of pleaſing, in which they are but too ſucceſsful. For nothing is more common, than for the princes, and chief men of thoſe countries, to take a particular liking to one of thoſe creatures, and to laviſh immenſe ſums upon her, notwithſtanding their haram is ſtocked with far ſuperior beauties of perſon, who are beſides poſſeſſed of that of modeſty, natural to women conſtantly ſequeſtered from the ſight of men, and which is not at leaſt leſſened in appearance to their lords, by that conſtitutional violence of deſire to which they are ſubject, and which makes ſome of them tranſgreſs

the bounds of decency, on particular occaſions. Theſe dancing-girls beſides are generally recruited out of the people of all caſts and denominations, though not without eſpecial regard to beauty or agreeableneſs; yet even the knowledge of their being ſo common, cannot with many out-balance their natural and acquired charms; which will not appear incredible to thoſe, who know how much the Opera-girls in France were, and have not yet ceaſed to be, in faſhion. Their dances however would hardly at firſt reliſh with Europeans, eſpecially as they are accompanied with a muſic far from delightful, conſiſting of little drums they call Gumgums, cymbals, and a ſort of fife, which make a hideous din, and are played on by men, whoſe effeminacy, grimaces, and uncouth ſhrivelled features, all together, ſhock the eye, and torture the ear. However, by uſe we become reconciled to the noiſe, and may obſerve ſome not unpleaſing airs, with which the dancers keep time: the words often expreſs the matter of a pantomime dance, ſuch as a lover courting his miſtreſs, a procureſs bringing a letter, and endeavoring to ſeduce a woman from one gallant in favor of another, a girl timorous and afraid of being caught in an intrigue. All theſe love-ſcenes, the girls execute in character-dances, and with no deſpicable expreſſion, if they are good proficients in their art; for then their geſtures, air, and ſteps are marking and well adapted. In ſome of their dances, even in public, modeſty is not extremely reſpected, in the motions of their limbs, the quivering their hips, and other laſcivous attitudes into which they throw themſelves; without expoſing any nudity, being richly dreſſed and bedecked with jewels in their manner. But in private parties, to which they are called, as in gardens, they give themſelves a greater looſe, and have dances in reſerve; in which, though ſtill without

without any groſſneſs in point of diſcovering their bodies, they are miſtreſſes of ſuch motions, and lewdneſs of looks and poſtures, as are perhaps more provoking. In ſhort, there is no allurement they omit, and rarely fail of their end; ſome of them amaſſing great wealth by this means. In the neighborhood of Goa, for example, on a part of the continent bordering on the diſtrict of that iſland, the dancing-girls founded a village, after being driven from Goa, by the zeal of the archbiſhop, where they reſide in a kind of body-corporate, and where the noblemen and chief inhabitants make parties of pleaſure; for it is not every one's purſe can afford the expence of them. Here many of theſe women acquire conſiderable fortunes by this ſcandalous traffic, and throw it into a common ſtock, for the carrying on literally trade, being concerned in ſhipping and the moſt profitable voyages, for which they have regular brokers and factors. Or at leaſt it was ſo, till Goa declined ſo greatly within theſe few years it has done, from its former ſplendor.

Notwithstanding numberleſs ſtories of their rapaciouſneſs, and perfidies to their gallants, there is one told of a dancing-girl, that proves there may be, even in that claſs, an exception to their general want of ſentiments. A Portugeſe vice-admiral, whoſe name, if my memory does not fail me, was Don Antonio de Sylva Figueroa, having laviſhed a great part of his fortune, among other extravagances, on a celebrated Gentoo dancing-girl, by whom he had a ſon, a circumſtance not very common in a commerce with thoſe creatures, ſaw himſelf reduced to a condition much beneath his rank and birth. In this ſtate he was, when, on receiving an order from the viceroy to equip a ſquadron for ſea, he found himſelf utterly unable to furniſh the requiſite advances to which the duty of

of his poſt obliged him. This naturally made him uneaſy and melancholy, which being obſerved by his miſtreſs, who with ſome difficulty wrung the cauſe of it from him, ſhe left him abruptly, and in a manner, that made him conclude ſhe was, in the ſtile of that ſort of women, going to add her deſertion to that of fortune, and which would not have been the leaſt of his afflictions: but he was ſoon ſurprized at her return, with a caſket of jewels and gold to the amount of near three thouſand pounds, being more than he wanted, and which ſhe with a very good grace obliged him to take, as a mark of her affection. This piece of generoſity, for its being ſo uncommon made the more noiſe, and reaching the ears of the late king John of Portugal, it affected him ſo, that by the next ſhips he ſent out letters of legitimation to the admiral's ſon by that dancer. I am here aware, that a ſtory ſimilar to this in moſt of its circumſtances, is ſaid to have happened in England, from an opera-ſinger to a late Duke; which however, not deſtroying the credit of this, only ſerves to ſhew, that if vices are the growth of all climates, ſo are virtues too; though the inſtances are rarer, and ſurely rareſt among thoſe of that character.

The dreſs of theſe women, which is various according to the different provinces, is in all however the moſt gorgeous and alluring they can imagine. They are generally loaded with jewels, ſtrictly ſpeaking from head to toe, ſince even on their toes they wear rings. Their necks are adorned with carcanets, their arms with bracelets, and their ankles with chains of gold and ſilver, often enriched with precious ſtones. They alſo wear noſe-jewels, that at firſt have an odd appearance, but to which the eye is ſoon reconciled. Yet they, as well as other women in that country, have a peculiar way of managing and preſerving their

breaſts,

breafts, which at the fame time makes no inconfiderable part of their finery: for they inclofe them in a pair of hollow cups or cafes, exactly fitted to them, made of a very light wood, linked together, and buckled at the back. Thefe at once confine the breafts fo, as that they cannot grow to any difguftfully exuberant fize; though from their fmoothnefs and pliancy, they play fo freely with every motion of the body, that they do not crufh the exquifitely tender texture of the flefh in that part, like the ftiff whalebone ftays in ufe among Europeans. Then the outfide of them is fpread with a thin gold, or filver gilt plate, alfo fet with gems according to their ability, which compofe the richeft part of their drefs, from the difplay favored by their fwelling orbicular form; but they are eafily laid afide, and refumed at pleafure.

Many of them, efpecially thofe who are in commerce with the Moguls and Moors, ufe the embellifhment aimed at of old throughout the greateft part of the Eaft, of forming a black circle round their eye-borders, by drawing a bodkin between them, with their eyelids fhut, that both fides may receive the tint of the ftibium or powder of antimony, that fticks to the bodkin. The powder is called by them *furma*; which they pretend refrefhes and cools the eye, befides exciting its luftre, by the ambient blacknefs. It is not eafy for Europeans unaccuftomed to it, to difcern at firft that grace the Orientalifts think it adds to them; though they prefently acknowledge is has at leaft as good an effect as patches, which appeared fo ftrange to fome Mallabar merchants, that on feeing the face of Mrs. King, the chief of Anjengo's lady, ftuck with them, they condoled very ferioufly with Mr. King on his wife's diftemper, but hoped thofe breakings-out would foon wear off. Thus arbitrary is the

the opinion of points of drefs in different, and often in the fame countries.

Another occafional ornament the dancing-girls put on, particularly on reforting to their gallants: this is a necklace of many and loofe turns, compofed of flowers ftrung together, which they call mogrees, fomething refembling Spanifh double jeffamy, but of a much ftronger and more agreeable fragrant odor, and far preferable to any perfumes, delighting at once the fight and fmell.

For the reft, their cloaths are much in the fame fafhion as the other women of that country. Inftead of petticoats they wear what they call a lungee, which is fimply a long piece of filk, or cotton-ftuff, that, without any trouble to make up, ferves them juft as it comes from the loom, to gird round their loins, and defcends to about mid-leg; fo that the upper part clipping clofe, marks with great juftnefs the roundnefs, and fwell about the middle, which tapering away to the legs, gives that loofe flow, to the lower part of the lungee, of which the ftatuaries are fo fond for expreffing the garb or drapery of a nymph, whilft the jewels and chains with which their other where naked legs are adorned, have fomewhat the air of bufkins. From the girdle upwards to the neck they have no covering, but one of the ends of the lungee purpofely left untucked-in, that is flung carelefsly over their fhoulders, and a very fmall jacket, fo cut, as to leave room for the breaft-cafes before-mentioned, and ties in a fmall knot beforehand juft above the girdle. On their head they wear nothing but jewels or flowers; and their long black hair is generally braided.

I have before obferved, that the younger ones receive a regular training from the elder and fuperannuated, under whom they ftudy in form all the art of pleafing, which they underftand by tradition and perfonal experience too well, not to know how

to

to paſs it for nature, in the imitation and refinement of which, without ſuffering it to be ſeen, their art ſpecifically conſiſts. Beſides, they have nothing of that nauſeous boldenſs which characteriſes the European proſtitutes, their ſtyle of ſeduction being all ſoftneſs and gentleneſs: their careſſes are not only well-managed, but well-timed, with ſtrict regard to keep meaſures in the cloying minutes of ſatiety.

I HAVE dwelt the more particularly on this article of Aſiatic luxury, as it enters for ſo much into all the entertainments publick or private, of the perſonages in thoſe parts.

THE dreſs of the Moors themſelves is extremely becoming; having, like the greateſt part of the Aſiatics, adopted that purely and originally Indian manner of wearing turbants, of fine muſlin, the circumvolutions of which form a covering to the head at once light, and cool, from the air eaſily penetrating the folds of it; at the ſame time that they defend it from the rays of the ſun, the heat of which acting in a ſtreight line, as cold likewiſe does, is rebated by the obliquities of the wreathing, which admits of an infinite variety in the manner of making up; inſomuch that many tribes, profeſſions, and even ranks in life, are diſtinguiſhed by it.

THE Turks undoubtedly took it from the Arabs and Perſians, who by certain tradition from the Indians, and that not until modernly, as appears by the deſcriptions of thoſe people by the antients. But that the Indian Aborigines never changed faſhion, or any other in their garb, appears clearly from what Quintus Curtius ſays of them on that head, and which holds good to this day. *Corpora uſque pedes carbaſo velant: Soleis pedes, capita linteis vinciunt. Lapilli ex auribus pendent; brachios quoque et lacertos auro colunt, quibus inter populares aut nobilitas*

nobilitas aut opes eminent, &c. "They cloath their "bodies with a garment that falls as low as their "feet: they bind their feet with ſandals, their "heads with linnen. They hang their ears with "jewels, and deck their arms and limbs with "gold, ſuch of them eſpecially as are eminent for "birth and riches." This paſſage I have not quoted out of affectation; but to ſhew how tenacious the Indians are of their old cuſtoms, as the above deſcription exactly anſwers to their preſent dreſs, which has admitted of little or no variation. The Tartar conquerors in a great part conformed to it, as in many other particulars they found eſtabliſhed in India, in like manner as their Country-men uſed in China a policy, that did not a little contribute to quiet their conqueſts. Another point of finery they have, which is their girdles or cumberbands on the outſide of their long veſt or cabay, generally richly embroidered, with the two ends depending before, bordered with gold or ſilver tiſſue interwoven. In theſe they ſtick, on the left-ſide, their kittarrees, or daggers, the handles of which are either curiouſly worked or ſet with precious ſtones. The blade is ſhort, broad, and converging to a point, nearly in the ſhape of what the ancients call *Lingula*, from its reſemblance to a tongue. "*Gladiolus oblongus in ſpeciem linguæ factus.*" AUL. GELL. Their ſcimetars are alſo hung careleſly before them, with the ſame curioſity in the workmanſhip of their handles. Inſtead however of ſandals on their feet, they wear embroidered ſlippers, or papooſhes, which they take off within-doors, or leave at the feet of the ſophas when on a viſit. Even the Europeans muſt, on any audience at the Durbar of Surat, before they are admitted to ſit in the Divan before the governor, ſubmit to pull off their ſhoes; which is not quite

 unreaſonable,

unreaſonable, as the floor is commonly ſpread with the richeſt carpets.

The Moors are alſo much addicted to ſmoaking; and the great ones among them all affect the Perſian luxury in that article of cullioons, which are made like decanters of tranſparent glaſs, with enamel flowers in their proper colors, adherent to the bottom of them. Theſe are full of water, and plugged up with a machine, that at once holds the tobacco artiſtly caked and lighted, and the inſertion of a leathern pipe wired round, of two or three yards length, pliant and coilable like a ſnake, by which name it is known among the Engliſh. Through this pipe they ſuck in the ſmoak, ſo managed as to receive a coolneſs, and mildneſs, by paſſing firſt through the water, which it cauſes to gurgle, ſo as to form a not unpleaſing noiſe. The poorer ſort uſe only either a coconut ſhell, prepared in the ſame manner for ſmoaking through the water, which is vulgarly, from the noiſe it thus makes, called a hubble-bubble, or the tobacco-leaf ſimply rolled up, in about a finger's length, which they call a buncus, and is, I fancy, of the ſame make, as what the Weſt Indians term a ſegar, and of this the Gentoos chiefly make uſe.

The Moors alſo give ſtrongly into the folly of judicial aſtrology; which not they alone, but the Orientaliſts in general, including the Chineſe, I ſuſpect to have borrowed from the Indian Bramins, who in India at leaſt are generally the almanackmakers, and conſtantly mark in their kalendars, what they call their good and bad days, in the obſervation of which they are invincibly ſuperſtitious. Nor is it impoſſible, that among the many points of religion, that even in the earlier ages, ſpread from the Eaſt weſtward, and eſpecially through Egypt after the return of Oſyris, who in his military expedition had penetrated into India, that

that of the diſtinction of days into auſpicious and inauſpicious, "*Dies atri, faſti, nefaſti,*" might reach even the Romans, who are known to have been ſo ſcrupulous on that head. As to the Gentoo-Indians, they are to this day ſo infatuated with this notion, that their merchants will not let a ſhip ſail, or care to ſtrike a bargain, or, in ſhort, undertake any buſineſs of importance, on thoſe days that are ſet down for unlucky ones.

It is alſo in reſpect of a Gentoo cuſtom among the head Rajahs of India, that the Mogul emperor keeps his anniverſary feaſt of being publicly weighed; a ſolemnity which anſwers ſomewhat to our keeping of birth-days.

As to the manners of the Moors and Moguls, they are nearly the ſame as of the reſt of the ſouthern Aſiatics, being greatly degenerated from the hardineſs and martial ſpirit of the northern Tartars; as well from the relaxing ſoftneſs of the climate, as from their ſliding into the Indian voluptuouſneſs and effeminacy. They are, however, from their childhood, tutored and trained up to great gravity and circumſpection in public, and eſpecially to curb any paſſions from breaking out into outward emotions of heat or anger, which they look on as the higheſt indecency. It is perhaps from this early habit of reſtraint and diſſimulation, that their reſentments, which might otherwiſe evaporate and paſs off in menaces or hard words, rankles inwardly in their boſom, till it breaks out, as they ſee their time and occaſion, into more ſanguinary effects, and more fatal vindictiveneſs. Thence the frequent plots, ambuſhes, circumventions, perfidies, and deep-laid ſchemes of the great men among them, to deſtroy one another. Their ſchool-education, which is rarely more or other than learning to read the Alcoran, and to write Arabic or Perſian, is however ſupplemented by

their introduction into all companies, and ſcenes of public buſineſs, in their tendereſt youth, where their fathers carry them, not without a due preparation and inſtruction of how they are to deport themſelves; and by this means, under their watchful eye and controul, enter them early into that great univerſity, the world. The Gentoo merchants uſe the ſame method with their children, initiating them, with the firſt dawn of their reaſon, into all the myſteries of their trade and contracts; inſomuch, that it is not uncommon to ſee boys of ten or twelve years of age, ſo acute and expert, that it would not be eaſy to over-reach them in a bargain. In truth, their docility, ſedateneſs, and awful regard for their parents are ſurpriſing, conſidering the extreme fondneſs of theſe for their children, which they temper ſo judiciouſly, as not to ſpoil them; their whole ſtudy being to make them conſider their parents as the beſt and tendereſt friends they can have in the world; which point once carried, the reſt may be imagined to follow in courſe.

The Moors are alſo fond of having Abyſſinian ſlaves, known in India by the name of Hobſhee Coffrees. Theſe moſtly come from a certain province ſubject to the Negus of Ethiopia, called Innariah, to the ſouth of his other dominions, and bordering upon what is commonly called Negroeland, in the heart of Africa, from whence they are ſelected, and a great traffick made of them, over all the Mogoliſtan and Perſia: but it is chiefly from the ports of Arabia and the Red Sea, that they are brought. Nothing can be imagined more ſmooth or gloſſy, and perfectly black than their ſkin, in which they far ſurpaſs the negroes on the coaſt of Guinea, and, generally ſpeaking, have not any thing of their thick lips, though otherwiſe as woolly haired as they. This ſpecies of ſlaves is, however,

however, highly valued for their courage, fidelity, and ſhrewdneſs; in which they ſo far excel, as often to riſe to poſts of great truſt and honor, and are made governors of places; when they take the title of Siddees. Such was Siddee Maſſaoud, a great favorer of the Engliſh, when he commanded ſome years ago in Rogipore, a ſtrong place on the coaſt of Deckan, near Bombay, till he was diſpoſſeſſed by the ſuperior force of the Morattoes; upon which he repaired to Bombay, and afterwards to Surat, where he was again put into command. Nor is this tranſition from ſervitude to power ſo violent as may at firſt be thought; ſince all the officers and inſtruments of the deſpotic courts of Aſia are involved under the general title of ſlaves, of which they are even voluntarily proud, Shah Nadir himſelf having worn that of Thamas Kouli Cawn, or Thamas the king's ſlave. To do the Orientaliſts juſtice, in general they treat their ſlaves with great humanity, and bind them to faithful and even affectionate ſervice, by their tenderneſs and next to parental care of them. Thus the Turk and Mooriſh merchants breed them up to ſuch truſt-worthineſs, as to employ them as their factors and ſupercargoes, and ſuffer them not only to amaſs fortunes to themſelves, but to bequeath them to their children, which is only matter of curteſy. The chief diſtinction between ſlaves of this ſort and freemen is, that the former are not allowed to let their beards grow, which is conſidered as the mark of liberty, as the ſhaving it is held the badge of ſlavery; and in this point the Arabs are punctiliouſly exact.

As to the diet of the Moors, it is far from being deſpicable. Rice ſtewed dry they uſe as bread, and look on it as more wholſome, light, cooling, and natural to the climate. The inſipidity of it is ſufficiently corrected by the ſauces with which they ac-

company it, and are made of fiſh, fleſh, or fowl, generally cut or ſtewed ſo, as not to need the knife when ſerved in, whilſt the great point of them is to be high-ſeaſoned and ſavory. They rarely have meat come to table in joints, and yet are very fond of a diſh where the lamb or kid is roaſted whole, and ſtuffed with raiſins and piſtachionuts, which then ſerve in lieu of bread to it. They have likewiſe almoſt as many names for their diſhes as the European cookery; but the three moſt common ones all over India is, currees, kitcharee, and pilow. The currees are infinitely various, being a ſort of fricacees, to eat with rice, made of any animals or vegetables; theſe laſt being chiefly uſed by the Bramins, who never eat what has had life in it; but the reigning ingredients are the pulp of the coconut for thickening, and turmeric for turning the ſauce yellow, beſides ſpices to heighten it. Kitcharee is only rice ſtewed, with a certain pulſe they call Dholl, which they reckon very wholſome and nouriſhing, and is generally eat with ſalt-fiſh, butter, and pickles of various ſorts, to which they give the general name of Achar. The pilow is too well known to need particulariſing, only it may be obſerved, that the addition of the bacon is an European improvement; but which, if the Moors do not admit, they ſupplement it with the higheſt ſpices; and the great ones, in their entertainments, make it a moſt coſtly regale, by the addition of ambergreaſe. I have been credibly informed, that at Fort St. George, many years ago, one diſh alone was charged to the company at conſiderably above two hundred pounds ſterling, at a treat given to a Mogul Nabob, when one Mr. Hyde was ſteward; a charge to which the company did not acquieſce, until it was fairly verified by examination. So much however is certainly true, that moſt of the Europeans ſoon reconcile them-

themſelves to the country-diet, and many at length prefer it to their own, even in point of taſte or reliſh, independent of its being undoubtedly more wholeſome, and more adapted to the climate, than the quantities of fleſh to which we are uſed in theſe colder countries, where the heat being more concentered facilitates the digeſtion. Few of the Moors abſtain from wine or ſpirituous liquors; but are fonder of cordials and drams than of wine, which they do not think ſtrong enough for them, no not even the arrac, unleſs treble-diſtilled: and, what is more unaccountable, they pretend that brandy, for example, better known on the Indian coaſt by the Portugueſe name of Aguardiente, is cooling, when moderately taken in the very midſt of any faintneſs, brought on by fatigue, or exceſſive heat of the day. They manage, however, with ſo much diſcretion and reſerve in this article, that even thoſe who have the character of the greateſt drinkers among them, are never ſeen, in public, in the indecent diſorder cauſed by that vice, which is not only fatal to their reputation, but ſometimes precipitates their governors and great men into a dangerous abuſe of their power, of which the following ſtory may at once ſerve for an inſtance, and to characteriſe the genius of thoſe Orientaliſts. The Nabob of the diſtrict of Ahmadavad, a prince of the Mogul's blood, not many years ago, in a drunken fit, had given an order to ſet fire to the great city of that name. His vizier, who ſaw that he was not in his ſenſes, and yet durſt not by a wiſe but hazardous diſobedience ſhock the profound eaſtern jealouſy of deſpotic authority, in this nice dilemma, applied for advice what to do to a Perſian princeſs, wiſe to the Nabob, and not more remarkable for the exquiſiteneſs of her beauty, than for that of her wit and good ſenſe; being beſides, not only more learned than the generality

of women in thoſe countries, but ſkilled in the compoſition of Perſian poetry, all which merit of the mind and perſon was not thrown away, ſince it had ſucceeded in entirely captivating and attaching her huſband to her, who repoſed himſelf principally upon her for the care of his government. Her anſwer upon this conſultation was entirely conformable to the maxims of eaſtern government, and to the dictates of humanity. "The autho-"rity of the prince, ſaid ſhe, is too ſacred a point, "for either you or me to take upon us to revoke "his order. He muſt then be literally obeyed. "Find out in any corner of the town, any of the "moſt detached little houſes, from which there "may be the leaſt danger of the flames ſpreading. "Set fire to them, firſt giving the owners time to "eſcape, and paying them amply for the damage, "and thus my huſband's authority will be pre-"ſerved, and any material miſchief prevented." This counſel was immediately put into execution; and beſides deſerving to the authoreſs the thanks of her huſband, when recovered from his intoxication, raiſed the reputation of that princeſs all over the Mogoliſtan.

The equipages and carriages of the Moors conſiſt chiefly in elephants, horſes, palanqueens and hackrees.

The riding on elephants is a point of ſtate chiefly appropriated to the Mogul himſelf, to the princes of his blood, and the Nabobs of provinces, or the great officers of ſtate: ſurely nothing can be fitter to ſtrike an awe, or give the impreſſions of grandeur and pomp, than one of thoſe enormous beaſts gorgeouſly capariſoned, and bearing on its back a kind of canopied throne, in which the perſon who ſits is ſo majeſtically conſpicuous from ſuch an eminence. Theſe unweildy animals, however, are rather growing into diſuſe for war, ſince

ſince the more prevailing uſe of fire-arms, and the diſcovering that with all their docility, it is impoſſible to break and train them to the field, ſo as to be ſure they will not often do more miſchief to their own ſide, eſpecially when exaſperated by wounds, to which their maſs makes them a mark hard to miſs.

The beſt horſes in uſe come from Arabia, but chiefly from Perſia, and make a conſiderable article of trade both by ſea and land, and certainly no part of the world produces finer than either of thoſe countries. The Moors alſo ſpare for no care or expence in their keeping, and eſpecially for breaking them to the uſes of war.

For as to the hunting or racing, though no ſtrangers to thoſe pleaſures, they are ſo far conſidered by them as inferior points, as to have little or no ſhare in their training.

As to the Palanqueens, they ſeem to me the utmoſt ſtretch of invention for humoring the conſtitutional indolence of thoſe people, as ſurely a more lazy conveyance could not well be imagined. It conſiſts of a bed and bedſtead, with ſhort feet, covered over head with an ample canopy; commonly of either velvet or cloth, faſtened by the means of croſs ſticks, and ſilken or cotton cords to the arch of the ſtick or bamboo, from the ends of which arch proceed the poles which are all of one piece with it, and are carried by ſix, but moſt commonly four bearers, hired for that purpoſe at very low monthly wages. The perſon carried may very conveniently ſit upright under the arch, being bolſtered up in that poſture, by one or two large pillows, which may occaſionally ſerve to recline his whole length, or even ſleep on them by the way. This arch of the bamboo, is prepared whilſt the tree is young, by keeping it bent in ſuch a manner, as to grow into the deſired form, according to the

perfection

perfection of which, and ſize, it bears a leſs or greater price. Some of theſe are made very expenſive according to the decorations employed on them, ſuch as the rich ſtuff of which this portable couch and its canopy are made, gold or ſilver taſſels, and feet; which laſt are often carved and plated over to repreſent couchant lions, griffins, or other figures. The ends of the poles are alſo incaſed with the like metals, generally preſenting a tyger's head: but this laſt is a badge of authority, granted only to a few of the greateſt authority and diſtinction: in which point they are imitated by the Engliſh; for though there are few perſons of any note or eminence, but what, in our ſettlements, keep palanqueens, the tygers heads are reſerved for the governor, and ſecond of the council. At Calcutta in Bengal ſome of our gentlemen, probably diſguſted with the reproachfully indolent attitude incident to this method of carriage, invented a new one, by which means the bedſtead was converted into a platform, that ſupported a common arm-chair well fixed on it, upon which they could ſit more decently and full conveniently under the canopied arch. Others contrived, ſtill preſerving the bamboo-form a-top, and at the ends, ſo as to be carried on the ſhoulders a conveyance, in all other points reſembling a ſedan-chair. In Bombay and Surat during the rains, they cover them with a thatch, eaſily put off or on, made of the leaves of brab-trees, a ſpecies of wild palm, and lined with callico, forming a ſnug ſhelter impenetrable to the violenteſt rain, with windows that ſhut or open at pleaſure. In Bengal and other places they defend them, but not ſo effectually, with a wax or oil-cloth thrown over them. The jealouſy of the Moors has alſo ſuggeſted them a ſcheme of covering the palankeens, where their women are carried; which not in the

leaſt

leaſt excluding the air, or ſight from within, only hinders thoſe without from ſeeing them; and this is effected by a various-colored ſilk-netting thrown looſe over the whole machine. Of the ſame nature as palankeens, but of a different name, are what they call andolas, of which the couch is by the croſs-ſticks faſtened to a ſtreight inſtead of an arched bamboo, and conſequently admit of no other poſture than lying at length: theſe are much cheaper, and leſs eſteemed than the palankeens. Doolies are much of the ſame make as the andolas; but made of the meaneſt materials, being only a coyr-cott ſlung alſo on a ſtreight bamboo, and hardly ever uſed but to carry the poorer ſick. The Moors too have affixed ſuch an idea of ſtate to palanqueens, that in moſt countries conquered by them over the Gentoos, they forbad theſe laſt the uſe of them, unleſs on the day of their marriage, for which inſtitution they preſerve ſo high a veneration, that it is proverbial with them to ſay, that a man on that day is as great as a king, and conſequently grudge him no enſigns of royalty.

The hackrees are a conveyance drawn by oxen, which would at firſt give one an idea of ſlowneſs, that they certainly do not deſerve: for there are of them, eſpecially thoſe which are well trained and managed, that would maintain their rate, againſt horſes in full trot, and the ſmalleſt are generally the fleeteſt. Of theſe the Gentoos chiefly make uſe, eſpecially the banyans and merchants of Surat; and though I cannot ſay from knowledge that they are directly concerned in the caſtrating of thoſe animals, which is performed by a cruelly painful operation, not by exciſion, but by the compreſſion of a ligature, that intercepting the nouriſhment conveyed to thoſe parts, cauſes them to rot off; yet it is plain, that with all their bigot veneration for that ſpecies of animals, they make no ſcruple of uſing them in that

that ſervice. Certainly it is more for obtaining it the moſt effectually, and for the ſake of ſhow, than out of tenderneſs for them, that they keep them as ſleek, clean, and in good plight as poſſible, feeding them with balls made of the flower of gram, a kind of peaſe, and coarſe ſugar. So far they ſucceed, as to render the yoke of a pair of them far from being unſightly; the oxen of that country, eſpecially of Guzarat and Cambay, being generally white, like thoſe produced about Milan in Italy, and ſome of them as large at leaſt as our Lincolnſhire cattle; contraſting to which whiteneſs, they paint their horns with a ſhining black, and hang bells about their necks, in the ſame ſtyle, and for the ſame purpoſe, as thoſe of our carriers horſes. As to the conveyances themſelves, they are open on three ſides, covered a-top, and made to hold two people, ſitting croſs-legged in the Oriental manner, conſequently flat and without raiſed ſeats, but with a pillow at the back to ſupport or to recline on.

Here their jealouſy has invented another method of concealing their women from ſight, by means of folding blinds, or checks let fall round the open ſides. Theſe are commonly coarſely painted, and made of the fibres of the coconut, or brab-tree leaves, ſo diſpoſed and looſely ſown together, as to let in the air, and not hinder the ſight of thoſe within them. Theſe checks alſo, with the difference of being large and lined with ſome coarſe tranſparent ſtuffs, ſerve the natives for anti-porta's to their apartments, ſo commodiouſly at once for coolneſs and privacy, that ſomething of the like nature might not be a deſpicable improvement, even in Europe. Each hackrey has its driver, who ſits on the ſhaft, equipped with a goad, and who takes care of the oxen, and is called the hackrey-wallah: but, in Bengal, I am told, the

the moſt eminent of the Gentoo-merchants have come into the uſe of horſes and chaiſes, in which they are ſo fond of a parade, they know they may ſafely diſplay under the Engliſh government, and which for fear of a fleecing they durſt not do, under that of the natives, as to have them richly ornamented, and even the reins garniſhed with ſilver or gilt ſtuds.

Upon the whole, it muſt be allowed, that in moſt of thoſe points, in which the luxuries of life conſiſt, thoſe Orientaliſts are little if at all inferior to the Europeans. If they have not their taſte for ſtatues, paintings, cabinets of medals, and ſuch like articles of refined curioſity, they are not at leaſt deficient in thoſe of a ſenſuality, to which the warmth of the climate ſo ſtrongly and ſo unhappily inclines them, being by this enervity and relaxation, generally ſpeaking, rendered unſuſceptible of thoſe manly virtues, and that hardineſs conſtitutional to thoſe born under the colder and rougher zones. Thence moſt probably the indolent and ſlaviſh acquieſcence of the Eaſtern nations in general, under that deteſtable form of government, deſpotiſm; where not the profuſeſt fertility of the ſoil, not the Elyzian temperature of the air in many parts, nor the choiceſt bleſſings of nature, can atone for the want of the greateſt of them, Liberty. Here an Engliſhman cannot but, in the compariſon, find freſh incentives, if that could be neceſſary, to the love of his country, in which the mildeſt laws, under the moſt admirably tempered conſtitution, ſecure to him his life, his property, and what is deareſt of all, his freedom.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the ſtate of the Roman Catholic religion in INDIA. *Miſſions more political than religious. Qualifications of a Buon-Chriſtian: quality of their concerts. Papiſts have borrowed ſeveral points of worſhip from the Orientaliſts, Mahometans and Heathens: points of reſemblance: inquiſition imitated from the Mahometans: inhumanity of the inquiſition: precaution of the* ENGLISH *againſt* PORTUGUESE *prieſts: ſtory of cardinal* TOURNON: *lying miracles of the papiſts: ignorance of the* Portugueſe *clergy: character of the jeſuits: nunneries in* India: *falſe pretenſions to merit in the Romiſh miſſions: reaſon of the* Engliſh *not attempting converſions in* India.

THE numbers of Roman catholics living under the humane protection of our Engliſh government in India, where they experience all the tenderneſs of our truly chriſtian ſpirit of toleration, furniſh me with one reaſon for attempting to ſet the ſtate of their religion in thoſe countries in its true light. A ſtronger one yet occurs to me, in the expedience not only of undeceiving the public of the many falſe accounts impoſed on it by the Roman miſſionaries; but of wiping off the reproach of want of zeal in the proteſtants, for not taking the pains that they do, in the converſion of infidels to the chriſtian faith. To this taſk I ſhall dedicate the preſent chapter, which ſhall be followed by others, continuing ſome remarks I had occaſion to make on the three capital diviſions of worſhip in thoſe parts, the Mahometan, Gentoo, and Parſee religions; in which I ſhall proceed, purely as a candid relator of what I could learn of them worth particulariſing; and not at all in the ſtile

ſtile of a dry theological diſcuſſion, for which I confeſs myſelf entirely unqualified.

To begin with the Roman-catholic religion; it is neceſſary to premiſe, that the Portugueſe, who were the firſt modern diſcoverers of the navigation to India, were alſo the firſt planters of the chriſtian faith; ſuch as it is, after their mode, in the countries they conquered, or into which they penetrated. Charitably then granting that the pure piety of their kings, actuated their zeal for the propagation of their faith, without worldly reſpects, it cannot be denied, that the conduct of their miſſionaries was of a nature the fartheſt in the world from deſerving that opinion of diſintereſtedneſs. Where-ever the force of the Portugueſe arms prevailed, as it might eaſily do over nations naturally unmilitary, and at that time ſo unacquainted with the uſe and noiſe of fire-arms, that they were as much conquered by the ears, as by the eyes, on which laſt the ſtrangeneſs of the European garb had not alſo a little effect; wherever I ſay the Portugueſe prevailed, or gained ſettlement, one of their firſt points was to ſtock the place with miſſionaries. Theſe, while under the ſanction of a military power that awed the natives, preached a religion ſo new, and ſo hard to be underſtood by the natives, and ſo ill underſtood by themſelves who preached it, at the ſame time collaterally uſed it as an engine for forming and ſecuring a party among their proſelytes, for advancing the Portugueſe intereſt and power in thoſe countries: which is exactly the ſame game, as had been long played by the French in America, with the Indian nations, allies to or dependent on us; with whom their miſſionaries inſinuated themſelves, where thoſe unfair preachers on our own grounds, acted the part rather of the panders of ambition, than of the propagators of religion.

In the infancy of the Portugueſe conqueſts, the awe they ſtruck, the dazzling ſplendor of their ſucceſſes, the partial preference and encouragement they ſhewed to all the Indian proſelytes, all ſo far co-operated to favor converſions, that, eſpecially on the coaſts of India, they brought over if not conſiderable ſubjects, at leaſt a number ſufficient to boaſt of, yet nothing near ſo great as they repreſented. The truth is, that excepting a few of the beſt ſort of the Gentoos, and thoſe chiefly converts, leſs to the force of their arguments, than to certain temporal motives of advantage, of pique, or of reſentment, their ſucceſs chiefly lay among the loweſt and refuſe tribes of the Gentoos. A circumſtance which alone, without any other reaſon of averſion, greatly impeded the progreſs of their miſſion among the higher tribes or caſts, who could never be reconciled to that levelling ſpirit, which it is ſo much for the honor of the true religion to eſtabliſh, by making all Chriſtians as it were brothers. But the Bramins, and Nayrs, the nobleſs of the Malabar-coaſt, could not without horror think of ſeeing the loweſt caſts, whom it was even a profanation to come within reach of their breath or touch, raiſed to any equality with them: whereas many of thoſe miſerable people, won by a condeſcenſion of the prieſts to talk familiarly with them, nay to court and bribe them to quit their native religion, in which they were ſo deſpiſed, and hardly treated as human creatures, liſtened to their arguments, and either were or pretended to be perſuaded by them. And it is certainly out of theſe that the bulk of the new chriſtians was formed; if the name of chriſtian may, without prophanation, be given to ſuch as received no better inſtruction than they did, conſiſting chiefly in the ceremony of baptiſm, which they were never taught to underſtand, in the par-

rotry

rotry of Ave-marys, and a few words learnt by rote, an Agnus Dei, or a copper crucifix hung about their necks, not forgetting a rosary, in which equipage, and with their special profession of believing implicitly whatever the priests believed, without knowing what, how much, or why they were to believe, they were currently pronounced *Buon-christianos*. Such is succinctly but truly the picture of by much the greatest part of the Indian converts, or of their descendants; for it is not to be supposed, but that there may be some, though a few, exceptions to this general description.

In the mean time, despicable as these proselytes mostly were, despicable I do not mean in quality of men with human souls, whose salvation is doubtless as precious as that of those of the highest rank, in the eye of the common father of all men, but on the account of their want of apparent conscientious motives, and of the evident insufficiency of instruction, both in point of time and manner to account for such a conversion; these proselytes, I say, became so many subjects, acquired to the state and church, the more to be depended on, as among the Gentoos there is no such thing as a regress ever admitted into their religion, after any act of renunciation, no nor even but very rarely when the separation has been incurred by some involuntary transgression of those capital points in which their religion consists, as shall be more fully shewn when I come to treat of it. Thus when once any of these Gentoos had embraced the christian religion, they generally stuck to it, since they could not go back to their own, though some afterwards turned Moors: but of this there were few examples. Though these converts were, as before observed, of the lowest tribes, Cooleys, Corumbees, Pooliahs, and even Poolichees, a cast hardly suffered to breathe the common air, being

driven into the forrefts and mountains out of the commerce of mankind, they did not fail of being ufeful to the Portuguefe, who could deal by the way of arms, with the fuperior fort, and only wanted thofe of the lower for fervants, mechanics, and foldiers, in which laft capacity, under the name of Topaffes, fome did good fervice, and their defcendants are to this day employed by our company in that quality. I have the more reafon too to think, that the firft converts were principally drawn out of thofe mean claffes of the Gentoos, for that in Bombay I never could learn that any of the Chriftian-Indian families deduced their defcent from Bramins, or Sinays, a kind of lefs ftrict Bramins, and fecond to them in rank. There might however eafily be fome without my knowing it; but I am fure they muft be very few; and I was credibly informed, that even at Goa, the Portuguefe metropolis, the fame proportion was nearly kept. In the mean time the Portuguefe of India are perfectly right to call their religion, THE FAITH, LA FEE, as being the only one, and it would be a pity there fhould be another like it on the face of the univerfe: for furely nothing can be imagined more repugnant to the true worfhip of God, in the beautiful fimplicity of the true theology, nor more difhonorable to humanity. One would imagine, they had pillaged every other religion of every thing that was abfurd, ridiculous, or deteftable, to compofe that monfter of their own. I fay nothing of what has been already made fo clear, of their borrowing and adulterating, ofteneft for the worfe, from the ancient heathens, who themfelves very probably derived many of their rites and ceremonies from the Eaft; but fhall only mention a few particulars, wherein the Orientalifts challenge feveral points of the Roman catholic worfhip as originally belonging to them,

them, and which perhaps a chronological diſcuſſion of the ſpecific time wherein they were adopted into that church, would more manifeſtly clear up.

The roſary, for example, is pretended to have been but an imitation introduced by ſome vagrant monks, of the Tezbuſh or Mahometan beads, on which thoſe of that ſect repeat their Biſmillah, exactly in the ſame ſtile as the papiſts do their Paternoſters, and Ave Marys; and even this cuſtom comes originally from the Indian Gentoos.

Their mendicant friars ſeem but a copy, and a moſt wretched one, of their mendicant Joguys, whoſe abſtinence from all animal food, contemplative life, auſterities and macerations, far exceed whatever their famous aſcetics ever ſo much attempted. From them too the Mahometans borrowed their inſtitution of Faquirs, or holy beggars; ſo that both Europe and Aſia owe all that peſterable ſwarm of vermin, the monks of both thoſe religions, to a perverted imitation of the Gentoo religion in that point.

As to the matter of idols, it is great impudence in the Roman-catholics, to reproach the Gentoos with theirs; or to imagine, that the frivolous diſtinction in words, between the actual worſhip of them, or of the uſing them only as helps to their memory in their devotion, can be underſtood, or not rejected by them, when they ſee theſe words contradicted by their actions, and the images in their churches manifeſtly applied to and invoked, as if they were living repreſentatives. Can they then be blamed, if idols for idols, they prefer their own; eſpecially too as they infinitely leſs nonſenſically, inſtead of exhibiting them in ridiculous human forms, ſuch as, for example, a woman gorgeouſly dreſt like a curtezan, with a fruz bob-wig with a crown on it, and a large hoop-petticoat reaching down to her feet, tied round the neck in-

ſtead of the waiſt, and a little child in her arms, frame their images in a hieroglyphical ſtyle, of which the oddity and monſtrouſneſs are ſomewhat ſalved by the meaning couched under them, and by their diſclaimer of attempting to repreſent the Divinity under any thing of human likeneſs, further than to convey inſtruction in their mythology? Thence the idol of a man with an elephant's head, of another with a number of hands, denotative of his various power, and holding ſome myſterious or emblematical thing in each. All which the Bramins do not want for the ſenſe to oppoſe to the idols of the papiſts, than whom moſt certainly, ſuch as they are at leaſt in India, chriſtianity cannot have greater enemies, ſince whatever deforms the divine ſimplicity of the goſpel, and by evidently worldly-intereſted, abſurd, and cruel adulterations, tends to render a religion ridiculous and deteſtable, muſt naturally weaken its force of perſuaſion, and even involve in its condemnation, though but for having the ſame name as chriſtians, the purer reformed. Thus, for example, the Mahometans cannot, with reſpect to the proteſtants, overcome that inveterate prejudice they have conceived of their being God-eaters, as they emphatically and opprobriouſly nick-name the chriſtians in general, and accordingly lump concluſions againſt them all. And as to the papiſts endeavoring to explain away the horror created by that idea, by the word *Myſtery*, a word of which too they have a perfect conception, having one in the Arab language *Gheib* (*occult*) that anſwers to it, they treat it with the utmoſt ſcorn and contempt, as never allowing it to enter into any definition of the Supreme Being, concerning whom they eſteem all myſterious expreſſions to be a prophanation of the ſacred ſimplicity of his exiſtence, and at the moſt, and hardly ſuffer them to be employed in accounting

accounting for ſome of the fabulous viſions of their prophet, as contained in the Alcoran, which however the wiſer and more learned part of the Mahometans are far from either reſpecting or believing.

Yet candor forces me to confeſs, that even this ſcandalous conformity of the papiſts worſhip, in many points to the Gentoos, might leſſen to the moſt ignorant and weak among them, the objection of too violent a tranſition; as they found in that church, ſo many ſuperſtitions of nearly the ſame nature as thoſe to which they had been uſed, and from which ſome of them, as before remarked, had moſt probably been originally deduced.

It is alſo in juſtice to the papiſts, that I am induced to acquit them of the infamy of being the original inventors of that infernal tribunal, the Inquiſition; for even that, it is not improbable they borrowed from Almamoun, one of the Arabian Caliphs, who firſt inſtituted a court of Inquiſition, which however he afterwards on better advice annulled on the queſtion which divided at that time the Mahometan ſect; *whether the Alcoran was created or uncreated:* a point of about as much importance, as the famous one agitated with ſo much rancorous and ſenſeleſs bigottry among the papiſts; *whether the Virgin Mary was conceived or not in original ſin?* But be whoſe it will the invention, not imagination can reach that mixture of horror and ridicule, with which the Inquiſition was ſet up and exerciſed at Goa, on the coaſt of Malabar, by way of aping that in Europe: only the victims of its cruelty in India, inſtead of the miſerable Jews, of whom theſe could not be a ſufficient number to glut its cruelty and avarice, and to furniſh out a decent execution at their *Autos da Fé*, were moſtly taken from out of the body of the Indian chriſtians, who thereby ſtood an infinitely worſe chance, than if their anceſtors or they had con-

 tinued,

tinued in their paganifm, and confequently unexpofed, and unobnoxious to the pragmaticalnefs of its jurifdiction. For its familiars or emiffaries, in want of prey, and having their eye efpecially on the converts, or their defcendants, efpecially if any of them had got rich, and would afford a handfome confifcation to that holy tribunal of theirs, the *Santa cafa*, made it their bufinefs to pry into all their actions and deportments: and as thefe people were generally of the loweft extraction among the Gentoos, and fo extreamly weak and ignorant, as to be incapable of being well-grounded in any religion, fome of them might, no doubt, be tempted to retain a kind of connection with their former brethren and relations, and even occafionally affift at fome of their ancient cuftomary practices, and thofe moft certainly not religious ones, as there was no return for them to that religion they had quitted, but which turned on the follies of divination, conjuring the fick, and the like. Yet this, or the fufpicion of it, was treated as a relapfe, and expofed thofe wretches who could only deferve pity, to the laft rigors of the church-perfecution: numbers of them were devoted to the flames, and piously configned to eternal damnation, for acts of the greateft fimplicity and folly, branded by the prieft with the names of forcery and apoftacy; though the firft is even too ridiculous to deferve a confutation of its exiftence at all, and the other was impoffible to them, if they had even the intention of it. However, as if this tyrannical cruelty had not of itfelf been execrable enough, it was accompanied with that ufual compliment made at the delivering over thofe miferable creatures to the fecular power, to be burnt; which is fo folemn a mockery of God and man, when the Dominicans, in whofe hands that jurifdiction is, with joint-hands, and pathetic fervor, entreat that no cor-

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poral harm may be done to them; at the ſame that they well know the ſtage and the fagots are ready prepared for their execution, and that if they were not ſo, or that they were to be taken at their word, they would be the firſt to cry out that their church was in danger, and not improbably excite a rebellion to reſtore that very cruelty they affect to condemn, and of which themſelves are the prime inſtigators and inſtruments. So conſummately anti-chriſtianized then may this tribunal be pronounced to be, from all the manifeſt motives and method of its procedure, that, if our bleſſed Savior himſelf was to return on earth, into any place under the juriſdiction of the Inquiſition, there is no doubt to be made, but that it would burn him for a heretic, if he ventured to preach his own pure and unſophiſticated doctrine, or was to deny any of thoſe points of theirs, on which they have founded the inſolence of their tyranny, and the revenues of their avarice.

Nothing however gave the neighboring Gentoo princes, and Morattoes eſpecially, ſo great an averſion for the Portugueſe nation, as this report of their cruelty on a religious account; for themſelves being all ſtrictly and unreſervedly obſervers of toleration in their dominions, they held ſuch perſecutions in the higheſt horror, which had not a little ſhare in the Morattoes determination to invade them as they did, and ſtrip them of their territories.

In the mean time, as the chriſtian Indians were chiefly compoſed of ſuch as had been converted by the Portugueſe miſſionaries, and numbers of them falling under the Engliſh domination, the Engliſh, who had ſufficient cauſe to be jealous of the plots and conſpiracies of the prieſts of that nation againſt their intereſt, and yet were unwilling to deprive their Roman-catholic ſubjects, as for exam-

ple Bombay, of the fulleſt liberty in their own way of worſhip, fell on the ſalving expedient, of an indirect application to the court of Rome, for its ſending miſſionaries of any other nation to take charge of the pariſhes under their juriſdiction, and by this means at once removed any ſuſpicion of intolerancy, and guarded againſt the danger from the ſeduction and arts of the Portugueſe prieſts. Theſe laſt were more agreeable to the chriſtian Indians in general, eſpecially as the Inquiſition had no hold over thoſe of them who were our ſubjects, and was therefore no longer an objection to the prieſts of that nation, whoſe groſs ignorance ſuited better with theirs, and whoſe diſcipline was more relaxed in points of morality, and in all points that did not affect the power of the church.

Our ſettlements were ſupplied with French, German, or Italian miſſionaries, generally of more conduct and learning than thoſe of the Portugueſe; and who were always, according to their degrees of merit, treated with regard, and even familiar friendſhip, by the Engliſh gentlemen. Certain it is too, that they live with the greateſt freedom and eaſe under our government, whoſe protection ſome of the vicars of the pariſhes do not even ſcruple to reclaim againſt any vexation or oppreſſion from the ſuperiors of their own church; as after admiſſion, they are not to be removed or replaced without the conſent of the Engliſh government. It has been ſaid, but with what truth I do not pretend to warrant, not being ſufficiently informed, that at Madraſs the Engliſh ſmarted for not having taken the ſame precaution againſt the French, their neighbors there, as they had done againſt the Portugueſe; for that the French prieſts of a fine church, they were allowed even within the walls, had

had not a little contributed by their intelligence and connections with their countrymen at Pondicherry, to further their designs on that our capital settlement on the Coromandel coast.

Among many instances that might be brought to shew, that pious frauds run through the whole of that religion, in all the nations of it, though sometimes discountenanced by the honester part of them, I shall just mention one story currently received in India. When cardinal Tournon, who was specially commissioned by the Pope to inspect, settle, and report to him the state of christianity in China, for which he could lay no stress on the manifold false accounts of the jesuits, and of the religious orders there at variance with them; he touched in his way on the coast of Coromandel, and at a particular district there, under the spiritual care of French priests, out of curiosity called for the register of baptisms, an extract of which had been printed at Paris, setting forth, that one of the fathers, as the missionaries are called, had converted and baptised so many thousands in one day, that he was forced to have two men to support his arms, tired with the ceremony of blessing and crossing such numbers. The register was produced, and there did not appear that on that, or any other day, more than one or two had received baptism. On that falsification and the priests excusing this fraud, on the old score of a pious intention, he duly reprimanded them, as he was in truth reckoned a man of probity. Yet he fared accordingly; for if the jesuits did not even poison him in China, as they were closely and perhaps falsely accused, at least they were the authors of such indignities and usage to him, as amounted to the same; since he sunk and died under them, a martyr to their jealousy and fears of his reporting nothing but what was truth of them.

But none were ever more induſtrious, and at the ſame time groſſer artificers of ſuch lying impoſitions and miracles than the Portugueſe prieſts. Such, for example, as of the ſhip that came in one night from the Cape of Good Hope plump into the harbor of Goa, a diſtance of ſome thouſands of miles, the devil holding the helm, and the Virgin Mary at the cond, in quality of quarter-maſter; in proof of which they ſhew you at Goa two monuments of ſtones, expreſſing the exact length of the ſhip's keel, with many of the like abſurdities; which however are matter of inquiſition to expreſs any doubt of; though ſo ridiculous, as that the relation of them would only ſurfeit the reader, or raiſe his compaſſion for ſuch credulity on one ſide, and his indignation at the coarſeneſs of the impoſtures on the other. This laſt is no wonder, conſidering the profound ignorance and impudence of the Portugueſe prieſts in general, even of thoſe who come from Europe: and as to numbers admitted into their religious orders, in India itſelf, even a Roman-catholic author, Luillier, avers, that they were often taken out of the claſs of the common ſeamen and ſoldiers, without the leaſt tincture of religion: to which I dare add, and with ſcarce the qualification of reading, and for this he notes eſpecially the Auguſtines.

The truth is, that even the prelates and dignitaries of the greateſt eminence among them, are barely tinctured with the moſt ſuperficial erudition. Their whole ſtock and ſort of knowledge being juſtly enough manifeſted by their libraries, which conſiſt of nothing but books of caſuiſtry, legendary lives of ſaints, decretals with their commentaries; in ſhort, of all the rubbiſh of ſcholaſtic divinity, fitter to turn one's ſtomach againſt, than one's heart to their religion.

But

But what is more incredible; even the Portuguese jesuits, to which society in France, Italy and Germany no reproach could justly be made of want of learning, or of even polite literature, are in India involved in the same gross illiterateness as the rest of their clergy. In short, they are profoundly ignorant of every point but one, which is the advancement of their influence and wealth by all the powers of crafty insinuation, and interested industry, for which they are so noted in Europe. Known chiefly by the name of Paulists, they observe, to all outward appearance, a more reserved and decent conduct than the other religious orders; yet, to judge by their acquisitions, seem to have better understood all the arts of legacy-hunting, and of taking in the laity for donations. Instead of their three-cornered cap, in India they generally wear a hat with enormous broad brims, always flapped round, that might well serve them for an umbrella; under which they appear abroad, with a pharisaical demureness, and dejected eyes, by way of affecting humility, or rather from not caring to look the world in the face. In short, they are as much hated and courted as in some countries in Europe, and both out of a fear of their power and vindictiveness; a fear bred by weakness, and which would vanish on their being seen in their true light.

To compleat the Indian churches mimickry of all the folly and wickedness of the European ones in that religion, they have not omitted those ecclesiastical seraglios or harams, convents of nuns, where numbers of ignorant silly girls are decoyed, and shut up, against the express will of God, so surely signified by the universal cry of Nature through all her animated works, and especially in that melting hot climate. But what gross conception the Portuguese themselves have of the chastity of these wretched recluses, may be gathered from

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what a bigot of that nation himſelf told me; that no cucumbers, plantains (a round oblong fruit) or any thing in ſhort of a ſuſpicious form, was ſuffered to paſs their turning-box, without being firſt cut in ſlices and diſabled; leſt thoſe ſpiritual ſpouſes of the Divinity ſhould make a very unſpiritual uſe of them.

In ſeveral books of voyages, and eſpecially thoſe written by the prieſts of that church, you ſeldom fail of meeting with pathetic deſcants and encomiums on the ardent zeal of the miſſionaries, that for the ſake of propagating the goſpel quit their native countries, brave all the inconveniencies of travelling into foreign ones, and there expoſe themſelves to all hardſhips, dangers, and even to martyrdom. All this is ſpecious; but generally ſpeaking falſe; notoriouſly ſo in India, where toleration is almoſt univerſally practiſed. If any of them have ſuffered in ſome parts, as they certainly have, the cauſes muſt be ſought for not in religious but political provocation. Wherever they neſtled, or could get footing, the firſt uſe they were ſure to make of their power and influence among their proſelytes, was to put the very government, to the mildneſs of which they owed their admiſſion, into danger, both from foreign and domeſtic enemies, by their cabals and encroachments on the temporal power. For this it was that they were perſecuted, and not martyrized but puniſhed, even to the utter extirpation out of Japan and Ethiopia of the religion they had introduced, and which thus ſuffered for their crimes and exceſſes, not without involving numbers of innocents in its fall: but in purely India, where they obtain ſettlements, even under the Mooriſh and Heathen princes, it is always their own fault, if they are not even treated with tenderneſs and reſpect. Every one who knows the condition of Monks in the European convents,

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where they are the ſlaves to their ſuperiors, and to the duties of a ſequeſtered life, having nothing but the pittance and allowance of the order, muſt alſo know, that many of them can hardly change it for a worſe: whereas, when once arrived in India, and placed at the head of pariſhes, in thoſe delicious and fertile countries, their life then becomes a very pleaſing tranſition from their former one, in every point of eaſe, luxury, freedom, and ſpiritual power over their black flocks eſpecially; whoſe ignorance and ſimplicity afford them all the advantages they could wiſh of gratifying their paſſions, of which as mere men they are ſuſceptible, and as ſuch commonly indulge, with the utmoſt ſafety, each being a kind of little pope in his diſtrict: ſo that it is a mere jeſt to attribute any great merit to the motives of their expatiation and apoſtolical labors. It is alſo not a new, though a perfectly juſt obſervation, that no miſſionaries hardly ever chuſe any theatre for their miſſions, unleſs in thoſe countries where there is money or good living to be procured. They take ſpecial care to ſteer clear of thoſe deſtitute and barren places, where nothing but naked converſions are to be hoped. On ſuch a choice too their merit at the court of Rome depends. If the ſucceſs of their famous Xaverius had been among a poor obſcure people, inſtead of the wealthy Japaneſe, he had probably never been canonized, or his name found a place in the Romiſh calendar.

As to the Engliſh, who came later than the Portugueſe into India, they had ſurely reaſon enough from the deſpicable ſtate in which in they ſaw the boaſted converſions operated by that nation, and from the indiſpoſition of the ſoil, to receive with any hopes of fruit, the ſeeds of the evangelical truth: they had reaſon enough, I ſay, to be diſcouraged from attempting, what in all moral probability

bability could promiſe no ſucceſs, without ſuch a power of miracles, as was not given to them, which they diſdained to forge, and which nothing human can ſupplement with efficacy againſt the invincible oppoſition of the united powers of climate, character, and an inveterate prejudice, yet more confirmed by the example of ſuch converts, as compoſe that contemptibly disfigured and corrupted chriſtianity, of which the Roman-catholics have ſo loudly boaſted the introduction into India.

CHAP. III.

Of the MAHOMETAN *religion. How introduced into* INDOSTAN: *relaxation of zeal for* Mahomet: *character of the* KORAN. POPES, *their reſemblance to the* KHALIPHS. Mahometans, *their zeal for the unity and reverence of God. Groſs conceptions fitteſt for the palate of the* ARABS *in the time of* Mahomet.

THIS religion was undoubtedly introduced into Indoſtan, in the uſual manner of it, by the ſword; though in ſome countries, more to the eaſtward, as in the Moluccas, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, &c. it found its way chiefly by the inſinuation of its doctrine, perfectly accommodated to the turn of thought, and ſenſuality of thoſe people. It was however much more rigorouſly profeſſed in the provinces that now conſtitute the Mogoliſtan, when they were under ſubjection to the Pattans, that Arab colony, which about four hundred years before Tamerlane had penetrated to Dehli, and there founded that empire, from which, after its continuance in a dynaſty of thirty-one kings, they were at laſt radically

cally expelled by Babar-Shaw, a defcendant from Tamerlane, who finifhed the conqueft of India. I have before obferved, that the Moors grew more relaxed under a feries of princes originally indifferent to all religions: but it is alfo true, that even in Arabia itfelf, the country of that founder of this religion, that fpirit of enthufiafm, which at once animated and empowered its profeffors in the infancy of it to fpread their conquefts is greatly declined, and their zeal for making profelytes almoft grown obfolete. The Arabs feem to have given over all thought of extending their dominion either on a fpiritual or temporal account, as if their ftrength and their fanatical frenzy had left them all at once.

As to Mahomet himfelf, there is a faint reverence kept up for his name; which is, however, more more matter of habit than of devotion: neither was their fuperftitious regard for him ever pufhed that length which is commonly imagined. That furious zeal of which the firft Saracen conquerors made fuch a parade, and fo fuccefsfully availed themfelves, had not fo much a veneration for Mahomet for its object, as the unity of the Supreme Being; in the invocation of which, if they joined the commemoration of his name, it was purely out of gratitude for his being the miffionary of that unity, and for his deftroying that idol-worfhip, to which Arabia had continued fo long under bondage. For the reft they looked on him as a mere man, fubject to all the failings and paffions of one, and fo far from addreffing him as a faint, that in their mofchs and orifons, they do not pray to him but for him, recommending him to the divine mercy: nor is there any fuch thing, as what has been vulgarly believed, of pilgrimages to his tomb: thefe being, in a religious fenfe, folely directed to what is called the Cahabah, or holy-

houfe

houſe at Mecca; which, having long been an idol-temple, was by Mahomet dedicated to the unity of God, and wherein he retained, in complaiſance to the idolaters, the famous black-ſtone, which had been worſhipped by them as repreſenting Akbar their *greateſt* god. The prophet's tomb is at Medina, viſited by the Mahometans, purely out of curioſity and reverence to his memory; but the Indian Moors frequently return without ever ſeeing it at all, though it is ſo near Mecca.

If ſome of their bigots were weak enough to conſider the Koran as an inſpired book, by much the greater number of the Mahometans, giving it all the praiſe they think due to it for its containing their favorite doctrine of the unity, at the ſame time inſiſt, that in other reſpects it is no more than a common performance of which many other Arabians might have been capable, either in point of matter or language. The famous Motazales was the firſt that more openly broached this opinion, and was followed in it not only by great numbers of the Mahometans, but by ſeveral of the Khaliphs themſelves of the race of Mahomet, who even perſecuted to death many who declared for the divine and uncreated eſſence of that book. A book than which ſurely never any thing appeared with more evident marks of impoſture, full as it is of inconſiſtencies, incoherencies, and pitifully abſurd fictions; ſo manifeſtly written from day to day, according to occurences, that ſome of the chapters came out expreſly and adaptedly to the various circumſtances of Mahomet's intereſt or paſſions. Sometimes, in order to regulate the diſtribution of the plunder; at others to quiet the ſcandal he gave, either by taking another man's wife away from him, and that man, even his adopted ſon, or by his commerce with his Egyptian ſlave Mary: not but that there are here and there

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ſcattered through it ſome excellent paſſages and ſentences of morality, ſet off with the pomp of figure and metaphors, and with the uſual Aſiatic ſwell. Yet moſt of them are mere common-place, and ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have been penned for him, as he could neither read or write himſelf, by his co-adjutors a Jewiſh Rabbi, and Sergius the Neſtorian monk, known among the Arabs by the name of Baheerah. Upon the leaſt reflection on them then every thing that is worth notice in that extraordinary book ſhrinks to little more than nothing. Even the greateſt zealots for it eſteem the 112th chapter equal in value to a third part of the whole Koran, though containing no more than the following few words, " * *Say God is one God: the* " *eternal God: he begetteth not; neither is he be-* " *gotten, and there is not any one like unto him.*"

Having in the preceding chapter mentioned certain apparent points of imitation of the Orientaliſts, in the innovators, or rather defacers of the chriſtian ſyſtem, in favor of that ſtupendous fabric of church-power they have raiſed on its ruins; there appeared to me another point of deſigned conformity, or at leaſt of accidental co-incidence, doubtleſs too obvious to have eſcaped others; though their having taken notice of it may eaſily eſcape me.

It is well known that after Mahomet's death, the ſucceſſion to his power in ſpirituals and temporals devolved to the Khaliphs; and though the popes were of a more ancient inſtitution, they had not riſen to that ſummit of power and dominion, which they afterwards did, until ſome centuries after the eſtabliſhment in form of the Mahometan religion, with the princes of which ſome of them

* Sale's Koran.

kept a correſpondence; whilſt all of them ſeem to have copied, and improved on the model of the government of the Khaliphs, at leaſt if the following ſtriking points of reſembling may be allowed to warrant ſuch a conjecture.

The title taken by the ſucceſſors to that pretended prophet was that of Khaliph, or vice-gerent of Mahomet: the popes aſſumed the modeſt one of vice-gerent of Jeſus Chriſt. Nor were the Mahometans ever fonder of their tenet of the unity of the god-head in heaven, than the papiſts of aſſerting the unity of the pope's vice-god-head on earth.

The Khaliphs, who were originally ſtiled *commanders of the faithful* in a temporal ſenſe, as being generaliſſimos of the muſſulmen, even on their decline from that power, ſtill retained it in a ſpiritual one, aſſerting a ſupreme juriſdiction and the right of diſpoſing of, and of conferring the inveſtiture of kingdoms and dominions that did not belong to them, on princes of their belief. Have not the popes, in that identical quality of ſpiritual *commanders of the faithful*, arrogated to themſelves the ſame prerogative?

The Khaliphs had a peculiar eccleſiaſtical ſtate or diſtrict, ſubjected at once to their ſpiritual and temporal authority, and of which the town where they kept their court was conſidered as the metropolis and ſee of their religion: ſo had and ſtill have the popes.

This parallel, if needful, might yet be puſhed further, to ſhew that the Romiſh church, amidſt all its inſolence and preſumption, was mean enough to copy the very originals it affected to deſpiſe and condemn; and for want of the talent of invention, was forced to ſubmit even to the heathens and Mahometans for all its principal points of ambition and avarice. Nor were the papiſts entirely to blame for this recourſe of theirs to the enemy,

enemy, ſure as they were to find nothing of that ſort to favor their purpoſes in the ſcriptures; which it was yet more ſacrilegious in them, ſupplementally to force into their ſervices, by torturing texts, into ſaying whatever they pleaſed. Thus, however, they at length ſucceeded in compoſing that ſtrange phantom, or rag-doll of their church-authority, which they ſet up as the queen of nations, and which they never could have compaſſed, but through the profound ignorance, and its concomitant ſuperſtition in which the laity was then immerſed, and liable to all the frauds and encroachments of the popes. Yet it ſeems to be ſome mitigation of the guilt of thoſe Roman Khaliphs, to ſuppoſe, that they could not have conceived ſo tranſcendently impudent a ſcheme as what they carried into execution, if they had not been encouraged to it by ſome example. That this conformity might be only matter of purely chance, there is no being poſitive in the negative: but ſo much is certain, that the Khaliphs were greatly too haughty to borrow any inſtitutions from the popes, on whoſe ſide the imitation, if at all, muſt have been.

ALL that fanaticiſm of the Mahometans however, being now pretty well ſubſided into a more ſober common ſenſe, and that not only in India, but even on the ſpot whence it originally ſprung; they grow much leſs troubleſome and tyrannical to the chriſtians, and indeed to all ſects who live peaceably under their government; though they are ſtill as rigid as ever, in their not ſuffering any converts to be made out of their religion into another. Nor can I find, that the Roman miſſionaries are ever fond of aſpiring to the crown of martyrdom in attempting it. Their chief quarry is the Gentoos, and even towards them their apoſtolical zeal is greatly ſlackened; probably from the jeſt of it being grown more ſtale, from being more ſeen through

by their own laity; befides that, their converfions generally coft them money, which they could not lately fo well afford.

The Mahometans feem alfo to grow the more purely Unitarians, in proportion as their zeal for the mere ceremonial part of their difcipline relaxes; nor will they fo much as hear with patience any argument againft that fundamental point of their religion. At the article of death they invoke no name but that of Allah, God, and generally die with it in their mouths, efpecially the Tartars; whofe diftance of country from the local fpring-head of that religion, and whofe original principles of pure Deifm, render them more indifferent to any mention of Mahomet. In fact, moft of his fectaries pufh their veneration for the Supreme Being fo far, as not only never to mention God with the leaft irreverence; but they think it even blafphemous to praife or define a Being, whom they look on as fo infinitely above all praife, definition or comprehenfion. They do not approve even of terming him Good, Righteous, Merciful, or the like; not only for their thinking fuch epithets juft as fuperfluous, or even impertinent, as if one was emphatically to fay of a man that he had a head, legs, arms, or any other members implied by the very name of man, and of whofe having them no one could doubt; but as they conceive it is profaning the facred Majefty of the name of God, to affociate it with human attributes or conceptions, and that nothing fills the idea due to that Being fo well as the name itfelf, a fubftantive fingularly and for ever above the company of an adjective.

As to their grofs notions of a fenfual paradife, the ftrefs they lay upon their ablutions, and their other rites and ceremonies; it can hardly be thought, that fo great a genius as Mahomet muft have been, was not himfelf fenfible of the abfur-

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dity of his impoſture in thoſe points: but knowing, as he did, the reach and temper of his countrymen, he moſt probably adapted his religion to their ſwallow, and might never have paſſed it at all, if he had not ſo let it down to the level of their apprehenſion, and the coarſeneſs of their palate. But as the particulars of it have been ſo fully deſcribed by numbers of authors, it became ſuperfluous for me to enter into a further diſcuſſion of it, than might juſt ſerve to ſhew more expreſly the ſtate of it in India, ſo far as it fell under my obſervation there, or in my way to get the beſt accounts of it.

CHAP. IV.

Of the GENTOO *religion. Paradox of their zeal and tolerancy, and how to be accounted for. Their veneration for* COWS: *ſtory on that occaſion of* ECBAR-SHAH, *great* MOGUL, *and a* BRAMIN. *Metempſychoſis. Tenacious of their points of religion: ſtory of* LOLDASS VITULDASS, *a* BANYAN, *on that occaſion. Nicety of civil diſtinctions: ſtory thereon of a* NAYR *and* THYVEE. *Impracticability of recovering the caſt when loſt. Story of a* Gentoo *and his wife: fidelity of the* Gentoo *wives, to what owing. Suicide not ſo common now among the* Gentoos *as formerly: ſtory of one who drowned himſelf. Account of the* GYMNOSOPHISTS *or* GIOGHYS: *ſtory of one. Trials by ordeal on the* MALABAR *coaſt: ſtory of an* ENGLISH *lady on that occaſion. Diſtinction of the* Gentoos *into tribes or caſts. Account of the* Bramins: *antiquity of their religion: conjectures on the* PAPHIAN VENUS: *a prayer of the* Bramins: *devotions to* JAGGERNAUT. *Conjecture on the pyramidal form of certain idols. An*

objection to HERODOTUS *attempted to be ſolved; as alſo another to* PLUTARCH *and* JUSTIN. INDIANS *probably initiated by the* EGYPTIANS. *Quotations in favor of the wiſdom of the* Indians : *their polytheiſm reſolveable into the unity of God.*

BALDÆUS, and many others, have already given to the public ſuch full accounts of the Gentoo mythology, that they have left me little or nothing to add to them. It is however true, that though the bottom of that religion is every where nearly the ſame, yet in various parts of that extenſive country called Indoſtan, there are ſuch various modes of opinions and practice built upon it, as would require many volumes to ſpecify the differences. I ſhall only mention thoſe particulars of it that ſtruck me the moſt, in which ſome will perhaps appear either not to have been touched upon, or but tranſiently by others, as all objects do not affect alike.

NOTHING appeared more paradoxical to me, than the violent tenaciouſneſs of the Gentoos in their religion and cuſtoms; and yet at the ſame time their perfect acquieſcence, humanity, and toleration of others who differ from them in thoſe points that are ſo ſacred to them.

THEIR obſtinacy, however, may be accounted for phyſically, from that weak flimzy texture of their bodies chiefly, and eſpecially of the Bramins and Banyans, raiſed upon rice, vegetables, and water; which, joined to the relaxation from the heat of the climate, ſoftens and effeminates them ſo, that they are not capable of a ſtrong and manly exertion of their reaſon, to ſhake off the yoke of a prejudice once thoroughly imbibed. This conſtitutional indolence, or *vis inertiæ*, running equally through the temporal and ſpiritual notions of the Aſiatics in general, may alſo be one of the cauſes of

of their abject paſſive reſignation to ſlavery, and ſubmiſſion to that deſpotiſm which reigns over all the Eaſt.

As to that ſpirit of toleration in religion, for which the Gentoos are ſo ſingularly diſtinguiſhed, it is doubtleſs owing to their fundamental tenet of it, of which the purport is; "that the diverſity of modes of worſhip is apparently agreeable to the God of the univerſe: that all prayers put up to him from man, are all equally acceptable and ſanctified to him, by the ſincerity of the intention: that the true univerſal religion is no other than the religion of the heart; that the various outward forms of it are only acceſſaries indifferent in themſelves, and merely accidents of time, place, education or birth; and that therefore all change of religion is at beſt but a dangerous and needleſs experiment, ſince, according to them, every honeſt man is ſure to be ſaved in his own." Upon this principle, inſtead of perſecuting and burning others for not being of it, or "of compelling them to enter," they will abſolutely admit of no proſelytes to theirs; and though whole nations have adopted their principal tenets, as the vulgar of the Chineſe for example, thoſe of the tranſmigration of ſouls, and their idol-worſhip imported into that country by Fohi, who was in all probability no other than a roving Gioghi; they neither admit of a community, or hold any correſpondence with them, and would as ſoon ſit down to eat, or intermarry with chriſtians and Moors, as with their fellow-religioniſts in China. When any of their religion renounce it, even in the countries where they are maſters, they charitably ſuppoſe it was through a conſcientious perſuaſion, and never perſecute them in any manner, unleſs by cutting off all communion with them, and expelling them irrecoverably out of the caſt or tribe

in which they were born. This they think abundant punishment, and for any thing else content themselves with only pitying them: many of such were, in truth, literally speaking, objects of pity, being of the poorer sort, won over in times of famine, by the Romish priests, who for that purpose watched and relieved their necessities on condition of their conversion. Nor was it always in those times, but often wherever they could discover objects with whose indigence they could work, that they succeeded by these mercenary means: and this is so true, as for those proselytes to be proverbially known in India, by the appellation of *Christianos de Arroz*, or rice-christians; which is a further confirmation of what has been before said, on the head of those so much celebrated conversions.

But nothing more strongly exemplifies the tolerating spirit of the Gentoos, than their conduct with respect to those who differ from them in their treatment of cows, or of that species in general. Their superstitious veneration for these animals is too well known to insist on here; but by all the discourse I have had with Bramins on that head, it appeared very clearly to me, that the spirit of that law of theirs, which forbids the slaughter of them, is chiefly gratitude; from their arguing against the cruelty of such a retribution, as killing a creature so serviceable to mankind, both in agriculture, and in furnishing so innocent, and by them esteemed a good diet, as milk, butter and cheese, relatively to which last articles they always mention that species in the feminine gender. The lawgiver, probably for a greater enforcement, added the fabulous fiction of the Cow Camdoga; which, however has had such an effect, that the Gentoos in general annex a sanctity to every thing that comes from that animal. They purify themselves
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with its urine; they burn its excrements into a greyiſh powder, with which they ſprinkle their fore-heads, breaſts and bellies; they alſo, when the dung is recent, make a compoſt of it, with which they ſmear their houſes, pavements, and ſides of them in the ſtyle of a luſtration. In ſhort, ſo exceſſive is their veneration for this animal, that there could hardly a Gentoo be found, that if under a forced option to kill father, mother, or children, or a cow, would not, with ſcarce a heſitation, but prefer ſacrificing any or all of the former: and yet with all this religious horror for the ſlaying theſe creatures, they have no ſort of averſion or ill-will to thoſe who do. They ſcruple neither converſation, nor even friendſhip with thoſe who uſe them for their food; and this purely from their enlarged notions and allowance for the difference of religions. In ſome countries indeed, eſpecially on the Malabar coaſt, immediately under the domination of Gentoos, they do not ſuffer the openly killing of cows, though they will wink hard not to ſee it; and even this moderate reſtriction is not warranted by the tenor of their religion, at leaſt to judge of it by the following ſtory.

Ecbar-Shah, one of the great Moguls, who was great-grandfather to Aurengzeb, and remarkable for that indifference to all religions, for which I have before accounted on the principles of Deiſm, had, it ſeems, a favorite Bramin, to whom he hardly refuſed any thing he could aſk. This Bramin, imagining he could not make a more meritorious uſe of his influence with the Mogul, than to ſollicit a royal edict, forbidding the ſlaughter of cows in the province wherein he was born, requeſted and obtained it. A few days after, the Mogul was ſurpriſed at the Bramin appearing before him with a ſorrowful petitioning face, and entreating him to revoke the edict which had been

been ſo graciouſly granted to his ſollicitations. Ecbar-ſhah gratified him in this ſecond requeſt; but was curious in courſe to know the cauſe of this change of mind. The Bramin ſatisfied him by imputing it to a dream, in matter of which the ſuperſtition of the Orientialiſts is too well known to need a commentary here. The dream he alledged was, that in his ſleep, he had been beſet by a number of thoſe animals, furiouſly goring and butting at him; when on his expoſtulating with them on ſuch an ungrateful return for his care of the preſervation of their ſpecies, one of the herd, ſpeaking for the reſt, ſaid as follows; "It is for "that very reaſon of thy miſtaken zeal, that we "thus perſecute and ſhall for ever perſecute thee: "thou knoweſt, that at our diſſolution we migrate "into more noble forms, and though thy religion "forbids the forwarding of that end, it does not "forbid thy ſuffering others to procure us that "advantage which is now by thy means re-"tarded."

It is not however to this horned ſpecies alone that this principle of tenderneſs is confined. Their belief of the Metempſychoſis makes them extend it to every animated creature, none being ſo minute, or of ſo low a claſs, but that they think it may be the receptacle of a human ſoul, conſequently of that of their parents, relations or friends. Thence it is, that the difference or ſize which mechanically, one may ſay, affects the eye with contempt or regard, and leſſens or augments compaſſion towards an animal in the act of deſtroying it, has no ſuch effect on them. They cannot without horror think of diſpoſſeſſing by violence any being of that precious gift of God life, and do not leſs reſpect it in the flea that bites them than in the elephant. But this is only to be underſtood of the Bramins, Banyans, and ſome other of their ſtricter

ſtricter tribes, in whom this averſion to bloodſhed does not ſuppoſe a great ſtomach to fighting; nor indeed do they value themſelves upon courage; yet, like the Quakers, they know perfectly well how to eſteem it in thoſe who have it. That a country too ſo tempting to the conqueſt of it from its natural treaſures and deliciouſneſs, might not want for military defenders, which could not be expected from out of thoſe peaceable tribes, the province of war was, according to the Gentoo ſyſtem of religion, left to other diviſions of caſts, eſpecially the Ketterees, out of which their Rajahs, kings, chiefs, and generals are taken, whoſe hereditary profeſſion is that of arms. The Raſhpoots and others are in the like manner warriors born. Such being the men of action and rule among the Gentoos by the conſtitution of their religion, it is the leſs wonder that they run into thoſe injuſtices and violences which generally accompany the ſword. This alſo ſolves that ſeeming paradox, of a religion breathing nothing but humanity, mildneſs and univerſal charity, having produced no better a government; and is one more proof, that no conſideration, human or divine, is ſufficient to ſoften the ferocity, or moderate the oppreſſions of any power that is purely a military one.

There is alſo another point in their religion, which appears as unaccountable as it is ſingular. Tenacious as they are of it, they are yet liable to loſe irrecoverably their right of communion, not only for voluntary breaches or derogations from it, but for even involuntary ones, or for ſuch as one would imagine extream force or neceſſity might juſtify. Certain it is, however, that numbers of them, though in other reſpects cowardly and afraid of death, would ſooner incur it than violate any of thoſe fundamental points, on which depends their right of communion; ſuch, as for example, kill-

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ing a cow, or tasting of beef, drinking or eating but out of the same vessel with those of another religion, which is a defilement never to be repaired, and many others too tedious to enumerate. They will even, on such occasions, impose on themselves martyrdom, under no circumstance of violence, but of an accidental necessity, rather than forfeit what they call their cast. Thus, when Loldass Vituldass, a considerable Banyan merchant before-mentioned *, was on his passage from Bombay to Surat in an English ship, he having made a provision of water, in vessels of his own under his own seal, such as might serve for that short run, being usually of no more than two or three days, it happened that, through retardment by calms and contrary winds, the same was expended, and he reduced to a condition of perishing with thirst, though there was plenty of water on board, But that being profane as to him, no entreaties could prevail on him to break his law, though his life was in such imminent danger : he felt all the torments so well known to be in thirst, and he would actually have sunk under it, if a favorable breeze springing up, had not brought him to Gundavee, just near Surat, but so faint as to have his soul, as they say, between his lips.

This delicacy of religion does not only subsist among the Gentoos, in respect to those of other religions, but between the different degrees and denominations of tribes of their own religion, who never eat, or intermarry, with one another under the same penalty. In some parts this nicety extends even to civil distinctions; as on the coast of Malabar, where it is made capital for a Nayr, or noble of that country, to approach so near an in-

* See p. 161.

ferior caſt, as to receive a wound that ſhould draw blood from him. It is not many years ſince, that near Penany, the reſidence of the Samorine of Calicut, an extraordinary accident of this nature happened. A Nayr happened to have a ſort of ſtruggle with a Thyvee, or land-tiller, when, as in half jeſt, half earneſt, they grappled each other, the Thyvee's ſickle by chance wounded the Nayr, who no ſooner ſaw his own blood, than he looſed his hold, and entreated the Thyvee to make off as ſoon as poſſible, and to keep the accident a ſecret for both their ſakes. It happening however to take air, the Nayrs aſſembled upon it, and one of the elders getting up and expoſing the caſe, they inſtantly fell on the poor Nayr, and hacking him to death with their ſabres, ſerved him as it is ſaid of the porpoiſes, when one of their ſpecies is wounded, whom the reſt, whilſt he is bleeding, inſtantly tear to pieces: after which, and groaning over him, they proceeded, by way of revenge for this ſacrifice, to which they had been thus compelled by their law, to the exterminating the whole tribe of the Thyvees, in the village of which the author of the miſchief was inhabitant. Yet even in this they ſhewed, that in the midſt of their wild ſuperſtition they could remember equity; as they were well informed how the thing had paſſed, care had been taken to pre-adviſe the Thyvees of what was intended, that they might timely ſave themſelves, till the day particularly ſet for the maſſacre was over, after which it is not lawful for them to revive the procedure; ſo that when the ſtorm was over, they might without danger return to their habitations. However, if a woman in that country lies with one of an inferior caſt, they do not indeed put her to death, but as being *ipſo facto* degraded, ſhe is ſeized and ſold for a ſlave.

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As to the impracticability of a re-admiſſion into the Gentoo-caſt, when once, whether wilfully or involuntarily forfeited, I never heard of an exception being allowed; unleſs the following ſtory may paſs for one, which ſtrongly but juſtly characteriſes the rigorouſneſs of the Gentoos on that head.

One of them, a man of ſubſtance, reſiding on the banks of the Ganges, had a wife of great beauty, with whom he lived happy in the utmoſt reciprocal affection. One morning early, as ſhe went, in the ſimplicity of their manner of life, to fill a water-veſſel at the river, a Mogul nobleman chancing to paſs by, was ſo ſtruck with her at the firſt ſight, that, yielding to the impetuoſity of his paſſion, he ſpurred up his horſe to her, ſeized her, and laying her a-croſs his ſaddle-bow, rode off with her, regardleſs of her cries, and over-powering her ſtruggles. Whether ſhe was alone or accompanied, no one it ſeems could inform her unfortunate ſpouſe, who was the raviſher, that he might have implored juſtice againſt a violence, certainly not tolerated under the Mogul government; or of what road he had taken, that by his perquiſitions he might find her out and reclaim her. In this dilemma, life being grown odious to the inconſoleable huſband, he quitted his habitation, and turned wandering Gioghi, with a double intention of humoring his melancholic turn to ſolitude, and of ſearching the whole country for her. But whilſt he was thus employed, the Mogul nobleman had accompliſhed his brutal purpoſe, and though at firſt very cautious of allowing her the leaſt liberty, for fear of a diſcovery, on having two children by her, grew relaxed in that point, even more than the Mahometans commonly are, thinking perhaps to gain her heart by that indulgence, cuſtomary among the Gentoos. After two years, her huſband, now a Gioghi, came by chance to a gar-

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den-door, at which ſhe was ſtanding, and begged alms of her. It is not ſaid whether he knew her or not, but at the firſt ſight, and ſound of his voice, ſhe knew him, though in a plight ſo fit to diſguiſe him. Then it was, that in a rapture of joy ſhe welcomed him, and related to him all her adventures, and the innocence of her heart in all ſhe had ſuffered, concluding with her deteſtation of her preſent condition, and an offer of immediately making her eſcape, and returning to his boſom. To this the Gentoo made no other anſwer or objection, but to repreſent to her the inviolable rule of their religion in ſuch a caſe, which did not admit of his receiving her again as his wife, or having any communication with her. However, after joining in the bewailment of the cruelty of their ſeparation, and of the law that prohibited that reunion, for which they both ardently ſighed, and after abundance of conſultation, about what meaſures could be taken, it was agreed between them, that the huſband ſhould inſtantly repair to the great temple of Jaggernaut, near the ſea-ſide, in the kingdom of Orixa, near the mouth of the Ganges, there to conſult the high prieſt and his chief aſſiſtants, whether any thing could be done to reſtore her at leaſt to her religion. Accordingly he went, and returned to her with ſuch a countenance as prepared her for the worſt. He then told her, that he came to bid her an eternal adieu, for that the taking off the excommunication ſhe had innocently incurred, could not be effectuated but on ſuch conditions, as he could neither expect, or adviſe her to comply with. They were theſe; that ſhe ſhould deſtroy the children ſhe had by her raviſher, ſo as to leave no living monuments of her pollution by his profane embraces, then fly with her huſband to the temple of Jaggernaut, and there have melted lead poured down her throat,

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by which means only ſhe might be admitted to die in her caſt if ſhe could not live in it. The wife on hearing theſe terms accepted them, hard as they were, notwithſtanding all the tendereſt diſſuaſions on the man's part. Urged by the manifold incentives of zeal for her religion, love for her huſband, and a hatred for her raviſher, that made her ſee in thoſe children of hers nothing but his part in them, all conſpiring to ſteel her heart againſt the motions of nature, ſhe perpetrated the firſt part of the injunction, and found means to eſcape undiſcovered with her huſband, who durſt not even renew with her the privilege of one, as her perſon ſtill remained polluted, and unapproachable by him under the penalty of a mortal ſin, and of falling into the ſame predicament in which ſhe ſtood. Arrived at the temple, ſhe preſented herſelf with the utmoſt conſtancy and intrepidity to the prieſts, of whom ſhe demanded the fulfilment of the reſt of her ſentence. After a ſequeſtration of a few days and other preparatory ceremonies, ſhe was led to the appointed place of execution in the area before the temple, where, in the preſence of an innumerable concourſe of people, ſhe appeared without the leaſt ſymptom of fear at the dreadful ſolemnity and apparatus of the fire, and inſtruments of her ſuffering. After a ſhort prayer ſhe was blind-folded, and extended on the ground, with her mouth open ready to receive her death in the melted lead. Inſtead of which, ſome cold water prepared for that purpoſe was poured into it, and ſhe was bid to get up, and then aſſured, that the ſincerity of her intention having been thus proved, was accepted by the Deity, and that ſhe was thenceforward at liberty to live with her huſband as before, being now re-inſtated in all her rights divine and ſocial.

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Whether this ſtory be true or falſe, it is certain, that it contains nothing but what the law of the Gentoos renders probable; and as certain, that the article of it annexing an expulſion from their communion to any violation of the conjugal faith, more eſpecially with thoſe of another religion, or with any of an inferior tribe (for it ſeems the ſin, though ſtill a mortal one, is not ſo great if committed with thoſe of their own caſt) keeps an effectual check on the wives, and makes it ſo hard for the Europeans to avail themſelves of that liberty they ſee the Gentoo women enjoy. I know that ſome indeed have boaſted of their ſucceſſes in gallantry among them; but I have ſtrong reaſons to think they are much rarer than has been ſaid, or at leaſt were chiefly among the very loweſt tribes, who are not ſo ſcrupulous, and with whom money might prevail. In ſhort, the wives of the principal Gentoos, with all their apparent freedom of ſhewing themſelves, are, by their never going abroad unleſs accompanied, and by their ſuperſtition, as effectually defended from the approaches of ſtrangers, as thoſe of the Moors are by their walls, bars, lettice-windows, and impenetrable veils.

Another reaſon for their prodigious affection and veneration for their huſbands, is their early marriage. A father is reckoned inhuman and careleſs of his childrens happineſs, if he does not make the earlieſt proviſion for having them ſuitably matched: therefore they marry them at the age of three, four, or five years, ſometimes younger, and often run into ruinous expences in the celebration of that ceremony: after which the parties, in the tenderneſs of that ductile age, are brought up until that of conſummation, in the

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conſtant inculcation to them of mutual dearneſs, as a ſacred point of religion. The women eſpecially retain ſuch ſtrong impreſſions of this doctrine, that notwithſtanding the influence of a climate far from favorable to chaſtity, inſtances of infidelity are at leaſt as rare among them, as in any people of the world beſides. Thence too the readineſs of numbers of them to embrace that cruel practice of burning themſelves with their huſbands, or in due ſeaſon after his death. Some of them living under governments where that ſuperſtition was not ſuffered, have voluntarily gone to Gentoo countries barely to enjoy the liberty of that act. Others, after bringing up their children to a ſtate of maturity, which ſeems an allowable reaſon of diſpenſation with them, and many years after the death of their huſbands, have, as if they had endured life only till that duty to their children was fulfilled, paid that one to their deceaſed huſbands, of ſeeking to rejoin them, by burning themſelves with the uſual ceremony. Some indeed, who had not the courage either to undergo that fate, or the patience to brook the indignities and ſlights that fall upon thoſe who decline it, and which form a kind of compulſion to it, though they call it matter of choice, ſuch as cutting off their hair, which to them is the moſt intolerable of all pains, ſervile offices, and wearing a particular colored garment, of a dingy red, will, eſpecially if they meet with encouragement, turn Chriſtians, or Moors. It muſt not however be underſtood, that this practice of voluntary burning is very general. Many of the tribes, eſpecially of the lower ones, are totally exempted from it, and it is only with reſpect to the more conſiderable perſonages that it is ever uſed, and even among

them, the inſtances begin to be much rarer, and that point to be leſs inſiſted on *.

The examples of that cool philoſophical ſuicide, for which the Indians are by the ancients ſo much celebrated, as being matter even of common cuſtom among them, are grown extremely rare. I could not, whilſt I was in India, hear of one that had reſorted to that extremity, except a merchant of Surat, who, many years before my time, had ordered himſelf to be carried, faſtened on a bed, the bottom of whoſe corner poſts were provided with a weight to ſink it, into the river Tappy, on men's ſhoulders, who had their cue to let him gently down into the ſtream, as ſoon as he had finiſhed his own funeral harangue to a croud of people, among whom were his ſons and relations, of which he acquitted himſelf with great compoſure and even eloquence. He had however no motive for this ſpontaneous departure out of life, but that ſort of philoſophy once ſo prevalent in thoſe parts, and for which the Gymnoſophiſt Calanus made him-

* Mr. Eyre, brother to that truly worthy and amiable gentleman who periſhed among the other unfortunate perſons in the black-hole at Calcutta, as will be hereafter particularly mentioned, was chief at Patna ſome few years ago, when a Gentoo woman underwent this ceremony of ſacrificing herſelf to the memory of her huſband, who had been a man of ſome conſideration, and the woman was perſonally known to Mr. Eyre. The place appointed for the ceremony was cloſe to the walls of the Engliſh factory, and when the woman approached, Mr. Eyre advanced up to her, adviſed her to deſiſt from her fatal purpoſe, and offered her protection in the factory; which ſhe refuſed, and perſiſted in her deſign, alledging, that ſhe had already undergone that ceremony four times, that this was the laſt, and then ſhe ſhould attain a ſtate of eternal happineſs. The ceremony was awfully performed, and ſhe periſhed in the flames with the conſtancy of a chriſtian martyr.

ſelf be ſo much admired by Alexander and his whole army.

These Gymnoſophiſts were undoubtedly not Bramins, as has been erroneouſly advanced by many authors; but of that ſect of men now called Gioghys; which, like other human inſtitutions, have been at length vitiated by abuſes, hypocriſy, and the admiſſion of corrupt members. Their original regulation turns upon a renunciation of the world, a hermitical or itinerant life, violent aſcetics, and that ſtark-nakedneſs from whence they derived their Greek name. At preſent, indeed, when they occaſionally travel into Chriſtian or Mooriſh juriſdictions, they diſpenſe with this laſt precept, and wear, out of deference to their cuſtoms, a ſcant rag that ſcarce covers their parts, to which their own opinions annex no idea of ſhame or turpitude. As to the ſelf-martyrizing poſtures, and other cruelties they impoſe on themſelves, they do not mean by theſe to inſinuate, that any torments of the creature can be acceptable to its Creator, but purely for the ſake of the merit they apprehend in the intenſeneſs and conſtancy of their ſpiritual contemplation of the Deity; being ſuch as enables them to maſter their attention ſo far, as to call it off from the feelings that pain their bodies, and to fix it unremoveably on the only idea they think can worthily fill their minds. It is alſo in the ſenſe and character of contemplatiſts, abſorbed in this ſingle object, that they prove what is perhaps harder to attain to, their inſenſibility to pleaſure. Thus ſome of them will ſit on a pedeſtal, by the ſide of the tanks or ponds where the Gentoo women perform their ablutions, whom they ſuffer to ſalute with the utmoſt reverence and ſimplicity, the living Priapus they exhibit for that purpoſe, whilſt their eyes roll frightfully in their heads, and no ſymptom or geſture of theirs betrays the leaſt indication

indication of human feeling, ſenſual emotion, or attention to the ſight or touch of theſe females, who imagine there is great prolific virtue in this ſtrange act of adoration. Theſe Gioghys alſo generally have that part bored, with a ſmooth ſoldered ring paſſed through it, as an atteſtation of the impracticability for them of incontinence. But though I am well perſuaded, that vanity and ſpiritual pride enter for a great deal into all theſe their ſelf-tortures, auſterities and ſelf-denials, yet it is hard to think that all of them are equally ſuſpectable. There is alſo reaſon to believe, that ſome of this ſect have made very valuable diſcoveries, eſpecially in Botany, from the opportunities of their roving life, through wilds, foreſts, and among the mountains where they ofteneſt ſhelter, being abſolutely forbid to lie in houſes, or under any built cover, unleſs occaſionally the open porches of their pagodas. The Gentoos however, to whom the abuſes of this profeſſion are perfectly known, and to whom their impoſtures are grown ſtale enough to put them on their guard, retain the higheſt veneration and awe towards ſuch of them as they have reaſon to think are ſincere in the exerciſe of it: they pretend even to produce, in their excuſe for this branch of their bigotry, ſome miracles recent within the memory of man. To this purpoſe, they relate an event, of which they will have it there are now living witneſſes, and which may ſerve at leaſt to expoſe their credulity, though one cannot help at the ſame time doing juſtice to their talent of invention. One of theſe Gioghys, as the ſtory goes, came to a large inland town, in Aſhmeer, and going directly to the governor of it, a Gentoo, preſented to him a bill of exchange, drawn payable to the bearer by the god Ram, for 2000 rupees, or about 250 l. ſterling; at which the governor pro-

tefted with a laugh at him as an impoftor. The Gioghy then went round the town, and was every where received with the fame kind of fcoff, except by a rich oilman, who very devoutly accepted it, and paid the amount: upon which, returning him a bleffing in behalf of the God, whofe draught he had thus honored, the Gioghy left him and the town, but not without fulminating as he paffed the gates, a curfe of leprofy to continue twelve years upon all the inhabitants except the oilman and his family, which inftantly took effect. And fo popularly was this ftory propagated, that it was brought to Bombay fome years ago by a Banyan, who declared, that he had himfelf feen a fon of the deputy, or affiftant governor of the town, who was a leper from that malediction, but the fymptoms of whofe diftemper were greatly mitigated by his being then in the twelfth or expiring year of the term affigned. The Gentoos are not content with occafional fiction or forgery of miracles from time to time, but infift on the exiftence of a conftant and ftanding one in their trials by ordeals, of melted lead or boiling oil, fuch as they are now actually in ufe on the Malabar-coaft. So much however is certain, that thefe ordeals are not in the leaft managed by any priefcraft, unlefs it could be fuppofed combined with the whole governing laity, againft the intereft of juftice, and their own, having been for ages practifed as the criterions of innocence, through the various provinces on that coaft. I never faw one of thefe trials myfelf, but believe that numbers of eye-witneffes to them are now in England, who can better afcertain the nature and manner of them than I dare pretend to do. It has however been affured to me, that feveral of the Englifh chiefs of fettlements on that coaft, have ufed their utmoft care and precaution to detect whatever fraud might be in this method of

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trial; that they have caufed the party that was to undergo it, not only to be locked up in their own guard-room, or prifon, but feen the hand that was to be plunged into the boiling lead or oil, bound up with a handkerchief clofely tied round the wrift, and fealed with their own feals, which remained unbroke till the inftant of the public ceremony of it. Notwithftanding all which precaution, and every other that the moft determined incredulity and fufpicion of fraud could devife, they could never difcover that there was any trick or juggle in it; to fay nothing of the improbability of fo many princes of different and difcordant dominions, for fo many ages, joining in a cheat of no fort of ufe but to fkreen obnoxious criminals, and to baffle that juftice, by which alone any government can fubfift. Some unable to deny the fact itfelf, have endeavored to account naturally for it, by averring, that neither water, oil, or lead, when boiling, can effect a hand dipped into it, fo as to burn it. If this were true, the whole of this pretended miracle of the Gentoos would fall at once to the ground, and the miracle would be that it could ever pafs for one. An Englifh lady however could have contradicted this from her own experience: for at Tellicherry, where fhe then refided, and where fcandal had not entirely refpected her, happening to be prefent at one of thefe ordeal-trials, where an Indian culprit drew his hand unharmed out of a cauldron of melted lead, fhe faid, fhe was fure it was all a jeft, and that it could not burn; but on putting her finger in to prove it, fkreamed out with the pain. "That trial (faid the then governor Adams humoroufly) I fuppofe, madam, "was for your virtue."

The ceremony is however performed with great folemnity. The party to be tried, on appeal to it for his innocence, whether on fufpicion of murder,

theft, conjugal infidelity in the women, in ſhort of any crime, or even in civil caſes, on denying a debt, is brought in public, to the ſide of the fire, on which is ſet a cauldron or ladle full of boiling water or oil, but moſt commonly lead; the prince or magiſtrates of the country aſſiſting. His hand is previouſly clean waſhed, and an ola, or leaf of the wild brab-tree, with the matter of the accuſation written on it, and girt round his waiſt, when, on a ſolemn invocation of the Deity by a Bramin, the culprit plunges his hand in, ſcoops up the boiling fluid, and if he draws it out unhurt, is abſolved; otherwiſe he receives the puniſhment preſcribed by the laws for the crime on which the accuſation lay. And ſo ſacred and firmly believed in general on that coaſt is this method of purgation, that I have been aſſured, that even ſome of the Indian Chriſtians and Moors have voluntarily ſubmitted their cauſe to its deciſion on their own perſonal experiment.

As the princes of thoſe countries, where this cuſtom ſtands at this day in full force, uſe no ſort of reſerve, or refuſe any examination that might be required, certain it is, that on the leaſt intimation from any perſon of authority here, to any of the Engliſh gentlemen on that coaſt, ſuch an enquiry would be very readily ſet on foot, as would ſatisfactorily liquidate what truth or falſehood there is in this practice; and ſurely even the Royal Society has vouchſafed to take cognizance of points of not ſuperior importance or curioſity to this. The iſſue muſt be, ſince the fact is inconteſtably true, either to diſcover a natural method of reſiſting fire, far more ſubtle than what is known to our European jugglers; or to prove, that Divine Providence, when ſolemnly appealed to, does not diſdain its immediate interpoſition in favor of innocence, an act which, though ſurely not unwor-

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thy of the goodneſs of God, the Romiſh prieſts in thoſe parts, not denying the ſupernaturalneſs of the effect produced, attribute to the power and craft of the devil; with what propriety let any one judge.

The diſtinction of the Gentoos into their tribes or caſts, forms another conſiderable object of their religion, which has its conveniencies and inconveniencies. Prieſts, warriors, merchants, huſbandmen, and in ſhort all the diviſions of mechanics and artificers known among them, are each claſſed in their reſpective tribes; and though all under the bond of the ſame religion, neither eat, drink, or intermarry with one another, ſo that a goldſmith for example, cannot marry his child to a druggiſt's. All muſt be born in the profeſſion they exerciſe: no tranſition or mixture is allowed: by which contractedneſs of diſpoſition great injuſtice is often done to talents and genius, to which no reſpect is had, or allowance made for their infinite diverſity. Thus ſome are confined to make an indifferent figure in one ſphere or way of life, who would have ſhined in another: yet ſuch juſtly ſuppoſeable inſtances excepted, this diſtribution has in general the advantage of order on its ſide, and the power of the prejudice of education in favor of cuſtom, diminiſhes and even annihilates the ſenſe of the injury thereby done to a few. Moſt of the tribes too have each, under every government, a particular perſon who is reckoned the chief of it, and is in ſome meaſure accountable for the conduct of the individuals of it; which alſo makes it the eaſier to eſtimate, number, or aſſemble them reſpectively on any neceſſary occaſion. But though one would imagine that moſt profeſſions, and manual arts eſpecially, thus for ages hereditarily tranſmitted, would proceed from father to ſon, to the utmoſt perfection, it does not appear that this conſe-

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quence follows in effect: for, by all tradition and accounts, they ſtick pretty near at the ſame point they were at many ages ago; whether emulation has been rather deadened than excited by this confinement to the vocation of birth; or whether, what is the moſt likely, the people of thoſe ſoft climates want that ſolidity, application and curioſity, neceſſary to carry them beyond a certain pitch, to ſay nothing of the diſcouragement for ever exiſting under deſpotic government, from the precariouſneſs of property.

The Bramins or Butths, as they are often called from the idols which all have that name; if theſe did not take it from them, vindicate pre-eminence of rank and eſteem from their appropriate functions in divine worſhip. There are ſome of them, however, often employed in purely civil matters without derogation to their character. They have a learned language peculiar to themſelves called the Hanſcrit, in which the Vedham, Shaſter, and other of the books of their law are written. As to thoſe who ſtick purely to the duties of their office, the ſimplicity of their lives anſwers to that of their diet, into which they admit of no animal food, and which one would think had its influence on their minds as well as bodies, being generally free from the violenter paſſions and vices, in which the cold one of avarice is certainly not included; for in this, thoſe of them, at leaſt, who enter into temporal affairs, vye with any other condition of men. With reſpect to their conſtitution they are generally healthy, though not ſtrong bodied. Their ſenſes of ſmell and taſte are exquiſite, which they doubtleſs owe to their abſtinence from fleſh. Thus flowers produce to them a much ſtronger odor than the ſame ſort would to Europeans; and they are as nice in the taſte of different waters, as

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we are in that of wines, and make as great a point of luxury in the choice of them. It is alſo obſerved, that the wounds of thoſe uſed to a vegetable diet, are much ſooner and eaſier cured than thoſe of ſuch as eat fleſh, from the greater groſſneſs of humors bred in theſe laſt by that food. The Bramins are likewiſe ſaid to poſſeſs many valuable ſecrets in natural philoſophy, acquired by their ſtudious and contemplative turn, and which if not brought to Europe, is not ſo much owing to any uncommunicativeneſs of theirs, as to the want of curioſity and inquiſitiveneſs in the Europeans, who ſeldom travel to thoſe parts in ſearch of knowledge, and are too much engroſſed by their purſuits of fortune, to give ſufficient attention, or employ ſufficient means to come at ſuch diſcoveries.

Upon the whole, whoever will combine all the abſurdities of their mythology, their incarnations of Viſtnow, the exploits of the ape Singa, the wars of their god Ram, the virtues of their cow Camdoga, and the reſt of their ridiculous fables, with that exquiſite morality, practical and ſpeculative, that may be collected from what they collaterally teach, muſt own, that the human mind is capable of uniting in it the greateſt ſeeming incompatibilities.

Yet it muſt be owned that their religion, all groſs as it is, does not exclude the idea among them of the God of the Univerſe, as it evidently turns upon deities merely local, and proper to India, which even their own doctrines ſubordinates to a certain ſuperior and more extenſive power. For as to Brama, he is never underſtood by them, but as the ſupreme God, the Jupiter Indiges of ſpecifically their country.

That their religion is one of the ancienteſt in the world there are many reaſons to think. Nothing

thing of ſo remote an original being to be leſs ſuſpected of borrowing from others, eſpecially in a people who have ever made it a ſacred point to follow their own peculiar inſtitutions, without deigning to admit of any foreign admixture. It is then highly probable, that the doctrine of the Metempſychoſis, which ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed Pythagoras, was derived from them, with many other articles and modes of worſhip, and opinion, which from certain reſemblances might be eveſtigated from the ſame ſpring-head. Thus, among many other conjectural inſtances, may be quoted the image of the Paphian Venus, for the form of which Tacitus could not account *, not being in any thing reſembling the human one, but orbicularly riſing from a broad baſis, and in the nature of a race-goal, tapering to a narrow convex a-top; which is exactly the figure of the idol in India, conſecrated to ſuch an office as that heathen deity was ſuppoſed to preſide over, and to which, on the borders eſpecially of the Ganges, the Gentoo virgins are brought to undergo a kind of ſuperficial defloration, before they are delivered up to their huſbands. At the firſt view indeed one would imagine that this Indian effigy was, eſpecially from this application of it, meant for a kind of repreſentation of a Phallus, or Ithyphallus; but beſides that, the form is too imperfect and remote an imitation; beſides that, the Indians make no ſcruple of expreſſing clearly the parts of generation in both ſexes, joined together, in an image of them, they call Quivclinga, which they

* Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metæ modo, exſurgens. Et ratio in obſcuro. Tacit. Hiſt. Lib. II.

Albæ Pyramidi haud diſſimilem dixeris. Tyrius Maximus.

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wear about their perſons, or hang about their necks, as an amulet; beſides alſo, that they have pagodas appropriately dedicated to Priapus, under the name of Gopalſami; this pyramidal ſtone may be plainly traced to its original; that idol, which in the ſame but a larger form is worſhipped by the Gentoos under the name of Jaggernaut, which, according to all accounts, and to captain Hamilton's eſpecially, is no other than a pyramidal black ſtone, fabled to have fallen from heaven, or at leaſt to have miraculouſly preſented itſelf on that place, where ſtands his temple before-mentioned. Now, according to the beſt information I could obtain from the Gentoos, this ſtone, of which all the images in that form in India are eſteemed but copies, is meant for the power preſiding over univerſal generation, which they attribute to the genial heat and influence of the ſun acting under ſubordination to it; and to whom the following formulary or prayer is addreſſed, and often repeated in a day by the Bramins eſpecially, with their eyes towards the ſun. "*Thou Power!* "*which illuminates that reſplendent Orb, deign alſo* "*to illuminate my mind, ſo as that I may thereby be* "*directed to walk in the way the moſt pleaſing to* "*thee.*" Now conſidering the dignity attached in the idea of the Gentoos to the generative power, it is no derogation to the ſupremacy attributed to Jaggernaut, manifeſted by their making his temple and image the head place of their worſhip, to infer that he is their god Bramin under that title, juſt as Jupiter had ſeveral names, according to his various functions, and equivalent to the Mythras or Venus Urania of the Perſians, or ſimply the Venus of the heathens. That the Deity, however repreſented by ſpecifically that image and under that name, was held to preſide over the genial fire, is plainly proved, by the ceremonies with which

which at a certain time of the year they perform their worſhip to it, eſpecially on the banks of the Ganges. For the Gentoo inhabitants there form domeſtic idols after that of Jaggernaut, to which they give its name, and which are niched in a conveyance that is to ſerve them for a triumphal car, all together decorated with gilding and tinſel. Formerly it uſed to be ſo with jewels and expenſive finery, according to the circumſtances of the owner, but of late they have much abated on that point. This machine is kept for ſome days in the beſt apartment of their houſe, during which time it is matter of devotion with them to exhibit all the obſceneſt poſtures, and to act all manner of laſciviouſneſs in ſight, as it were, of the idol, and as the moſt acceptable mode of worſhip to that deity it repreſents. After which they carry it in its gilded car proceſſionally to the Ganges, and throw all in together, as an acknowledgment to that river of its congenial fertilization with that of the ſun. Their reaſon too for relaxing in their expence on this head was, their finding that the Chriſtians and Moors, watching the places where they were committed to the ſtream, made a practice of diving for the jewels or valuables with which they uſed to be adorned, and by this means gained what to the Gentoos ſeemed a ſacrilegious booty at their expence.

As to the cauſe of the Gentoos predilection of this pyramidal form, it ſeems loſt in the remoteſt antiquity. But if I might be allowed to hazard a conjecture, it ſhould be, that it was originally ſuggeſted to them by that pyramidal aſpiration of flame, which is one of the moſt conſpicuous properties of fire.

If the above is not ſufficient to eſtabliſh the conjecture of the Paphian effigy of Venus, being originally derivable from the form of this Indian deity,

deity, perhaps the following account may ſerve at leaſt to corroborate it, and into which I enter purely, as I think it may throw ſome illuſtration on a dark point of antiquity, which has perplexed ſo many authors, and relatively to which ſome of the antients will probably appear to have been unjuſtly condemned.

The learned and laborious Dr. Hyde has particularly taken Herodotus to taſk for ſaying, that * Venus was the Perſian Mythras, Myhir, or in plainer Engliſh the ſun: but in this point not a little may be ſaid to juſtify and reconcile him to hiſtorical truth.

As to the objection of the nominal difference of ſexes, in Mithras and Venus, that is ſolved by the plain matter of fact of the Parſees not admitting any ſuch diſtinction of genders, in thoſe ſpiritual beings, which they eſteemed as provincial ſuper-intendants, or agents, and which the heathens dignified by the title of Gods.

That the Sun and Venus were by the Perſians, conſidered as one and the ſame divinity appointed to preſide over univerſal generation, may be inferred without much violence from many points of fact.

Mythras the Sun, or Myhir, in the primitive Perſian language, ſignified Love; and the Sun being deemed the genial inſpirer of it, has that quality evidently in common with the Venus of the Heathens.

Venus was imaged in that conic form, mentioned both by Tacitus, in his relation of the firſt

* Cur autem Herodotus addit eam (ſc. Veneram Uranam) Perſis Mythram plane neſcio: nam cum eo nomine ſemper ſignificatur Sol, quamnam erroris anſam arripuerit neſcio. Hyde. De. Rel. Vet. Perſ. Page 99.

Veſpaſian's

Vespasian's visit to her temple in Paphos, and by Tyrius Maximus.

Mythras, or the Sun, was also precisely imaged in the same form, that is to say, of a conic stone, in Cœlo-Syria, and among the * Emissenians, and from its shape took the name of the Round-God, or Agli-Baal, whence the emperor Heliogabalus, who had been a priest in the temple of it, derived his appellation, and in the sense of this Mythras being the same as Venus, he was doubtless no improper minister of that dissolute deity.

From this conformity of offices, attributes and form, it is no wonder that Mythras and Venus, called by the Assyrians Mylitta, or Mauledta, the parent of all things, might be deemed one and the same presiding Power, and as such reported by Herodotus. It is also in respect to the above conformity, that his cotemporary Artaxerxes Mnemon, did not make quite so violent or strange an innovation, as Dr. Hyde seems to imagine it, in introducing the statue of Venus in an human form, being then nothing more than another mode of representing Mythras, or Myhir, of whom the adoration, never however more than reverential, and such as was used towards their great men, was before so thoroughly established. This construction too if received, though offered only as a conjecture for want of a better, would absolve Justin, and reconcile the difference between him and Plutarch; the former placing Aspasia, the concubine of Artaxerxes, at the head of the priestesses of the Sun; the latter of those of Venus. Both then, in this case, might be right.

* Solem sub forma saxi ab imo rotundi et conici apud Emissenos cultum fuisse quod et a cœlo delapsum fuisse Jactabant Testatur Herodiannus. Hyde, p. 115.

The resemblance, however, above set forth of the image of the Paphian Venus, and of the Persian Mythras, to that of Jaggernaut in India, is entirely submitted to the reader, for his judging of the degree of probability of their being imitations of the latter: but I cannot omit another corroborative circumstance of the progression from the East to the West, of that Indian symbol, pervading so great an extent of continent.

This pyramidal stone or image of Jaggernaut was said to have come miraculously from heaven. The same was pretended of the effigy of the sun, in the same form, among the Emyssenians. Nay even the Greeks, with their usual fondness for the marvellous, a quality which is specifically the loadstone of lies, adopted a fiction of much the same, though rather of even a grosser nature. Anaxagoras, one of their not least considerable philosophers, imagined that the Sun itself was a large roundish red-hot stone, and according to Pliny the elder (book I. chap. 58.) foretold the very day on which a fragment of it would fall in that part of Thracia near the river Ægos, "which (says that author "very gravely) came to pass accordingly, and the "stone, of the bigness of a common cart, and of "an adust color, is *now* extant, and to this day to "be seen there." So credulous, and at the same time so imitative a creature is man, that even his fictions are seldom purely original.

That these pyramidal and conic forms were, from the antientest times, the select ones of the Gentoos, for the most sacred of their images is certain: but whether they were imitated by other nations; whether the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, the form of which is at this time actually among the ornaments of our gardens and vistos, were brought thither and improved on by the Egyptian Osyris, together with many other articles;

ſuch as the tranſmigration of ſouls, the diviſion of the week into ſeven days, under the influence of the ſeven planets, the names of ſome of which are retained to this day in the Engliſh ſtyle or kalender, or the diſtribution of the Zodiac into ſigns, the uſe of incenſe, all which points are ſtrongly claimed by the Bramins of India; it is hard, at this ſo remote diſtance of time, to decide on merely certain points of conformity, and as hard to think thoſe points were all purely accidental.

But to avoid any ſuſpicion of my leaning to that common weak ſide of travellers, finding a kind of ſatisfaction to their vanity in over-rating the countries where they have been, as if themſelves were to come in for a ſhare of their diſtinction, I beg leave to remind the reader, that I have not exaggerated the wiſdom and learning of the Bramins beyond what their general reputation will ſtrictly bear me out, and eſpecially that in which they ſtood with the Perſians, who, as their neighbors, may be ſuppoſed to have known them beſt. Towards which I need but ſelect two quotations, and both furniſhed by Dr. Hyde; for which I ſhall perhaps be thought the more excuſeable, as that even their being in ſome meaſure foreign to his ſubject did not hinder him from introducing them.

The firſt from Ammianus Marcellinus.——
" That moſt wiſe prince Hyſtaſpes, the father of
" Darius, who ventured to penetrate into the in-
" terior of India, in a private character, came at
" length to a ſhady receſs emboſomed in woods,
" where the Bramins exerciſed their ſublime facul-
" ties in the tranquil cultivation of the ſciences.
" There he learnt from them the abſtruſeſt rea-
" ſons of things. They accounted to him for the
" motions of this ſublunary world, the planets,
" and the whole ſtarry hoſt. They taught him

" the

"the pureſt forms of worſhip: and when he had "collected as much knowledge as he could for "the time, at his return he communicated as "much of it to the magi, or prieſts of Perſia, as "he thought proper. Hence it plainly appears, "that he drew the rudiments of his erudition from "the Indian ſages *."

The ſecond is from an oriental author. "Perſuya, head-phyſician to the king Naſhirwan "(who was cotemporary to the emperor Juſtinian) "brought for him a book, entitled, The wiſdom "of the Indians, or a dialogue between Kalil and "Dumnee †, or the crowned head and the enquirer. This he tranſlated into Perſian, and "deſerved by his work eternal reputation among "that people. The king too looked on it as ſo "great a merit, that he ordered Boorzumgheer, "his firſt counſellor, to write the life of Perſuya "from his infancy, to the age of which he then "was. And this was done."

Even the Mahometans themſelves pay a profound reſpect to the learning of the Bramins, and would not be ſo averſe to the Gentoos as they ſeem but for that Polytheiſm of theirs, which makes them admit of ſuch innumerable gods; eſpecially

* Hyſtaſpes reigned A. Mundi 3484, or 519 years before our Savior's time.

† This book is in the catalogue (page 19) appendixed by Mr. Frazer, to his hiſtory of Shah Nadir, under the various titles of Ayar Daniſh, the criterion of wiſdom; and a moderner edition under that of Anhar Soheili, the flowers of Soheili, and of Kalil Dumnee. He obſerves, that the king Naſhirwan the Juſt made it his guide, not only in affairs relating to government, but alſo in private life. Sultan Mahmud Ghazi put it into verſe. (Frazer, app. page 19.) I never heard that this book was tranſlated into Latin or into any European language. Every one knows that the Indian Lockman was generally believed to be the original of the Grecian Eſop.

in ſome parts of India; as for example, on the Malabar-coaſt, as far as three hundred and thirty three millions; though they conſider this only as a conſequence, in courſe of their departure from the unity of the deity, after which there appears to them no end, or knowing where to ſtop. Yet after all, if theſe gods of the Gentoos were to be candidly ſcanned and liquidated, it might fairly come out that they were conſidered even by them as no more than a kind of ſecondary beings, or local ſuperintendants and miniſters, ſubordinate to one ſupreme God, and thus would the whole legions of them ultimately center in unity. At leaſt I can ſafely aver, that ſo it appeared to me from the anſwers of the Bramins, being far from contradictory to that interpretation, when I preſſed them on that point.

CHAP. V.

Of the religion of the PARSEES. *Diviſion of the religion of the* Parſees *into two ſtates, ancient and modern. Introductory mention of* ZOROASTER, *or* ZARATOOSHT: *he reforms the religion of the* PERSIANS. *Their horror of ditheiſm: their accounting for the appearances of evil: their notions of fire*; *and of the human ſoul: their belief of the immortality of the ſoul: doctrine of rewards and puniſhments.* Zoroaſter's *books being loſt, his religion undergoes an innovation. The* Parſees *ſcandalized as fire-worſhippers in a literal ſenſe: their innocence of manners. Account of the* SOUFFEES.

IF I preſume to add any thing, on a ſubject which ſeems already exhauſted by the learned and judicious diſquiſitions of Dr. Hyde, on the religion

ligion of the antient Perſians, or of the modern Parſees, it is moſt certainly not from any preſumption in me of improving on that excellent author. On the contrary, perhaps the remarks which occured to me, and were the reſult of my own perſonal converſation with ſome of thoſe deſcendants of the ancient Magi in Perſia, now refugees in India, may ſerve to corroborate ſome of thoſe points advanced by him, that ſeemed to me ſuſceptible of a further illuſtration.

Even in ſome reſpects where I may appear to differ from him, the prejudice moſt certainly ought to be in his favor, who ſtudied the matter ſo much more methodically and deeply, as to deſerve a preference to all the information I could obtain though on the ſpot: but then it was only by ſmatches from perſons, whoſe broken Engliſh I could not always be ſo ſure of underſtanding, as to depend upon my not having miſtaken their ſenſe, and leſs yet when interpreted by them at ſecond hand, from ſome that could not ſpeak our language at all. Beſides, that ſuch as fell in my way, in this purſuit of inſtruction, were none of them profoundly verſed in their religion, being either purely commercial characters, or ſuch as knew little more of it than the vulgar tradition, or the preſent practice and ritual part of it. Yet even their imperfect accounts, as they turned on a point of ſuch high curioſity, which religion is generally admitted to be, and open into ſuch a wide field of reflection, appeared to be conſiderable enough for me, not to ſuppreſs in them any thing that might perhaps throw a further light on this ſubject.

From all the enquiries I could make, it appeared to me, if not clearly, very probable, that there are two diſtinctions neceſſary to be made in this religion of the Parſees. The firſt, the pure one of Zoroaſter, for ſo I ſhall call him, that name being

more generally familiar than his true one of Zaratoosht, from which the other was corruptly formed by the Greeks. The second and more modern one, such as it is at present in practice among the Parsees of Persia and India, disfigured by various adulterations.

It was under the reign of Hystaspes, about five hundred years before the nativity of our Savior, that Zoroaster florished. The limits of my plan do not here allow me to enter into the particulars of his birth, education, or introduction of his doctrine; besides that other authors have rendered such a task superfluous. I shall only mention their concurrent attestation of his having been profoundly versed in the mathematics and natural philosophy; whence he probably drew those sublime notions about fire, on which he founded the basis of his religion, and which are to this day retained by his sectaries.

It is very plain, however, that he found the homage to, and perhaps the adoration of that element, already established in that country, since there were Pyræums, or conservatories of perennial fire, known to be there long before his time. But that worship of it, whether religious or only gratefully reverential, or whatever else, was accompanied with so much idolatry or Sabaïsm, that enlightened by a sounder philosophy, he set himself to purge it of its gross errors, and reduce it to the two great cardinal points on which his religion entirely turns: the belief of one supreme God; and of the sun or element of fire being his first minister throughout all his works, as well as the symbol and eternal monitor of purity. The rest of his tenets were only subordinate to, or emanations from them.

As to God, the followers of Zoroaster, agreeably to his doctrine, are so penetrated with his immensity,

menſity, and conſequently omnipreſence of power, that they eſteem it a kind of impiety, or at leaſt a ſign of narrowneſs of conception to erect temples to him, as conveying an idea of locality or confinement of the deity between four walls that ſhocks and indignates them. Thence that celebrated ſaying of theirs, "that there can be no "temple, worthy of the Majeſty of God, except "the whole univerſe, and the heart of an honeſt "man." But of all their opinions, that which they hold the moſt ſacred; is, That God is the ſole neceſſary ſelf-exiſtent Being from all eternity, ſupreme and author of all good. Thence their thorough deteſtation of the ſchiſm of the Perſian dualiſts, admitting the co-eternity and co-ordination of the two principles of good and evil, and of the blaſphemous abſurdities of manicheiſm, founded on that hypotheſis of a ditheiſm.

Their manner of accounting for the appearances, and but the appearances of evil, is as follows,

They ſay, that God the arbiter and author of all Being, and all modes of Being, created a firſt matter or fluid, in which were eſſentially comprehended all the conſtitutives of thoſe forms, into which it became under his pleaſure infinitely modifiable; ſuch as the globe itſelf, men, animals, vegetables, minerals, &c. whoſe eſſence they thus pretend is at bottom all the ſame matter, fire *. That every thing is generated out of it, and ultimately reſolveable into it; its particles being what they imagine the minims of *all* exiſtence. An opinion, which by the way was alſo that of ſome of

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* The Latin word *purus* is evidently derived from the Greek one πυρ fire: as *uro* to burn, probably comes from the Syriac one *ur* fire.

the Grecian philoſophers. In this infinitely ſubtile celeſtial fluid the parent-ſubſtance, or crude matter of all future forms, they ſay, there exiſted no diſtinction of any, till the ſeparation ordained by God took place, by a regulated diverſified coagulation of the groſſer parts contained in it. In this conſiſted that diviſion of eſſentially the ſame matter at bottom into ſpirit, and matter or that which is commonly underſtood by matter in contra-diſtinction to ſpirit; or into light, and into the interceptor of light, opaqueneſs. Between theſe, through the principle of activity imprinted on that firſt matter, or elemental fluid of fire by the immediate hand of God, there reſults a perpetual ſtruggle and conflict. On the ſide of fire, to rarefy and reduce all things into their original minuteneſs and fluidity; on the ſide of hardened matter or opaqueneſs, a reſiſtance to the returning into it; to which principle they attribute the coheſion of bodies, and their mechanically paſſive averſion to diſſolution. That but for this impreſſion of activity on light, or what they underſtand by light, the elementary fire, though light is but a part of it, no motion abſolutely could be in the univerſe, nor any thing be kept in order, but by its qualities of expanſion and impulſion. That the coagulations formed out of it would be condenſed into one hard impenetrable ſubſtance, collapſing for want of fire to expand it, or to bring it back to its original ſtate, and compacted with cold, and involved in utter darkneſs. Neither of which circumſtances, as ſome authors have miſtaken the opinion of the Parſees, are poſitive qualities in matter, but negative ones conſequential to the privation of heat and light. That but for the reſiſtent *vis inertiæ*, or inert principle in opaque matter, the *vis vitæ*, or vital power in fire, would want whereon to exerciſe itſelf in thoſe its omnimodal operations, which, under its

primary

primary original laws, ſerve to give motion, and animation to all forms of being. That this conflict was inſtituted for the wiſeſt and beſt ends, ſince inſtituted by a power incapable of any other. That it is preciſely from this conflict, that all the evil that appears to exiſt in the world, as well as all the good reſults; but that the evil is entirely ſubſervient, and even inſtrumental to the infinitely greater good intended by it. That the ſtubbornneſs of the groſs opaque modes of being reſiſting the operations of fire, and producing all thoſe appearances of evil, both in the moral and material world, ſuch as the rebellion of the fleſh againſt the ſpiritual light, and the diſtemperatures of the elements, is an incomparably ſubaltern conſideration to the good, which is both apparently and preſumably the conſequence of the conflict occaſioned by it. They make a *toto cœlo* difference between God's being the author of poſitive evil, and his being the permitter of ſuch a comparative evil, as they hold it the utmoſt preſumption in the narrowneſs of the human underſtanding to object to it, without knowing or comprehending all the depth and wiſdom of the divine purpoſes and meaning in it. Eſpecially as nothing can be more clear, than that many of thoſe ſeeming diſorders or imperfections, of which nature (which is but another name for the great *fiat* of God throughout all his works) is ſo unjuſtly accuſed, appear on examination to be conducive to the harmony of the whole, and often in quality of ſalutary admonitions to mankind. The concluſion then deducible from this doctrine is, that ſince many effects in nature, which appear at the firſt view to be evils, are juſtified, as to the wiſdom of their cauſes, by their ultimately iſſuing in a known ſuperior good, it is but fair to reſignedly believe, that all the reſt are not one jot the leſs preſumably ſo, for their

their ends being, moſt probably for very good reaſons, concealed from, or impenetrable to us. That it is therefore the utmoſt raſhneſs and impiety to infer abſolute evil from ſome parts, or individuals, occaſionally appearing to ſuffer in the courſe of things, from thoſe primordial laws, to which God has ſubjected all his works in general, without excepting that part of them, man, whoſe good has been, doubtleſs, though without indeed conſulting him, as much conſulted as was fitting it ſhould be, of which God ought ſurely to be held a competent judge. Perfection too being the appropriate attribute of God, they think it no injuſtice to man, nor that there was any obligation on that ſupreme Being to create him as perfect as himſelf. Thence they abſolve omnipotence of the abſurdity and inconſiſtency of evil being introduced into nature by the very author of all good, or which is nearly the ſame thing, by any ſubordinate creature under his permiſſion; allowing no evil actually to exiſt in nature, any other than an imaginary, partial, temporary one, bearing no ſort of proportion to real, infinite and eternal goodneſs, and therefore not incompatible with it. This fantom of evil then, ſuch as it appears in the actual ſtate of nature, they figuratively imperſonate in the eaſtern manner, and give to it the name of Harryman, whence the Greek word of Arimanius; as the good principle or that of light, they term Oroozm, or Oroſmades, by which they alſo often underſtand God, for its immediately proceeding from or repreſenting him, for whom they have the reſerved appellation of Yeſd, or Yeſdan. The above-mentioned conflict they alſo believe will laſt until the conſummation of all things, when at God's appointed time the powers of light or pure ſpirit, will ultimately prevail over thoſe of darkneſs or opakeneſs, and when

when even the ſhadow of evil will be driven from the face of things.

According to this doctrine, the Parſees are, in a double ſenſe, ſo far from being materialiſts, that the name of ſpiritualiſts is more adaptable to them, ſince they rather reſolve all matter into ſpirit; and for that they make a perfect diſtinction between that ſpirit and God, whom they aſſert to be the Creator of it, and whoſe eſſence, or mode of exiſtence, they do not however pretend to comprehend or define, content with believing him the ſupreme Author and Governor of every thing, and different from every thing, but himſelf.

As to fire, they place the ſpring-head of it in that globe of fire the ſun, by them called Mythras, or Mihir, to which they pay the higheſt reverence, in gratitude for the manifold benefits flowing from its miniſterial omnificence. However, they are ſo far from confounding the ſubordination of the ſervant with the majeſty of its Creator and Maſter, that they not only attribute no ſort of ſenſe or reaſoning to the ſun, or fire, in any of its operations; but conſider it as a purely paſſive blind inſtrument, directed and governed by the immediate impreſſions on it of the will of God: nor do they even give that luminary, all glorious as it is, more than the ſecond rank among his works, reſerving the firſt for that ſtupendous production of divine power, the mind of man.

As to fire itſelf, excluſive of the ſuppoſed denſer coagulations out of it, that go by the name of matter, the Parſees opinion of it, ſuch as I had it from one of themſelves, is, as nearly as I could underſtand him, as follows. They very clearly diſtinguiſh its exiſtence as fire, into two ſtates; the one that violenter one of ignition, ſuch as in the ſun, and common burning fire, quick, and with different degrees of fierceneſs, never without heat, though

though ſometimes without light; the other, and neceſſary to feed the firſt, by which it is conſtantly attracted, like a ſtream ruſhing to an opening, is that of its primitive elementary ſimplicity, univerſally diffuſed as in the atmoſphere, or co-exiſtent with all ſubſtance in various proportions, as in ſalt, ſpirits, water, in ſhort where not? capable of even giving a ſenſation of cold, in the too long abſence or too great diſtance from it of the ſame element ignition; elaſtic, but loſing its elaſticity in becoming fewel to that other, whether in purely that its kindled ſtate, or that of its ſupplying life to the whole animal and vegetable creation, tempered by the fluids with which it mixes, and which damping it, return it effete and unſerviceable, till it recovers its ſpring; every where diffuſed, in us, round us, and above us, though always impalpable and often inſenſible, freely permeating, ſaturating, and impregnating the whole terraqueous globe, to its innermoſt depths, operating every thing in both its ſtates, by its preſence or retreat, and in both its ſtates eſſentially in inceſſant motion, though in different degrees, ſo as that nothing in the univerſe can be ſaid to be in perfect reſt, from its conſtant work of generation, preſervation, or deſtruction; for the reſt of ſuch infinite ſubtility, as to mock all graſp, all comprehenſion, all exactneſs of definition. Such too is preciſely the notion *Zoroaſter* eſtabliſhed of its omnipreſence, that one would be tempted to think he had from his known ſkill in natural philoſophy, and the curious mathematical machines for which he was ſo celebrated, the ſpecific proof of it from electricity, that ſo modern diſcovery with us.

As to the ſoul of man, they pronounce it, without heſitation, to be generated and conſtituted out of this elementary fire, according to the peculiar organization of his body, of which they imagine the heart to be the principal laboratory, ſending up the

the ſpirits, as the lighteſt ſecretions to the brain, where they are ſtopped by that ſoft ſubſtance, and receiving a further coction, become thought, reflection, memory, reaſon, &c. through the exquiſite workmanſhip of that part, which, as before remarked, they as far exalt above the element of fire itſelf, as we more eſteem a watch for the value it receives from the artificers hands, than for the crude materials out of which it is formed *.

From the perſuaſion alſo that God would not make any thing ſo unmeaning, ſo much in vain, as ſo valuable a work as the ſoul, to have no longer a duration than this tranſient temporal life, and from the unperiſhableneſs of the element out of which it is made, and in which, to uſe our terms, they comprehend equally the material and ſpiritual part of the body, only diſtinguiſhed by different degrees of denſity and rarefaction, they deduce and firmly believe the immortality of the ſoul. But for how its individuality is to be preſerved they do not pretend to account, nor think their ignorance leſſens in the leaſt the probability of that point, ſince they are ſenſible they cannot even account for the mode of their exiſtence here in this world.

Their doctrine of rewards and puniſhments in the other life, they found upon the clear ſelf-evident flambeau of reaſon lighted up in the human ſoul, which at the ſame time that it gives them the

* This opinion of the eſſence of the human ſoul, Boerhaave ſeems, in his treatiſe on fire, to have gone round and round, without daring to ſtrike into it, or to expreſs more than his ſuſpicion that it conſiſted of fire, " animam ex igne conſtare," the diſcovery of electricity, had he then known it, would perhaps have emboldened him to a more peremptory deciſion. And even Sir Iſaac Newton's ethereal fluid may, on examination, be found ſomething analogous to this doctrine of Zoroaſter's of fire, according to which this globe, and indeed the whole univerſe is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, an empyreum.

per-

perception of right and wrong, of the conflict in ſhort, to ſpeak in their figurative ſtile, between Oroozm the good principle, and Harryman the evil one; or, as in ours, between the groſs fleſh, and the purer ſpirit, inclines them naturally enough to the ſide of virtue, to conſtitute them guilty if they prefer that of vice, the temptation of which was given to them for an occaſion of merit in combating and conquering it, and never great enough to excuſe their yielding to it, if they did but juſtice to their gift of reaſon, or gave it fair play, as they ought to do, if only out of gratitude and reſpect to the Divine Power, and to follow where he leads.

As to their puniſhments, they do not admit material burning to be any part of them. They think the element of fire to be too pure, too noble, to be employed in the vile office of executioner. Nay, they pretend that the buſineſs of Mihir, fire, or rather divine love, is to be that of moderating the inflictions of juſtice on the guilty ſouls in the place of their ſuffering, which the modern Parſees paint as a dark, dreary, diſconſolate region, where every thing is big with horror, pain and diſguſt; caverns abounding with ſerpents, water as thick as melted pitch, and as cold as ice. Yet juſt as thoſe torments are held, and even tempered with mercy, they do not believe them to be eternal; but that after a certain time, the objects of them will be delivered and aſſumed into a ſtate of bliſs, though of an inferior one, to that of the good, from whom alſo they will be diſtinguiſhed with a brand in the forehead. They think, in ſhort, that puniſhments will be, both in point of degree and duration, proportioned to the human frailty and finiteneſs: but that rewards will be infinite and unmeaſurable, like the divine goodneſs.

Such was the bottom of the doctrine of Zoroaſter, as it may even to this day be collected out of

of the traditional remains of it, among the adulterations it has undergone ſince his time, and of which I now proceed to give the beſt account of their origin that I could obtain.

This religion of that great man was it ſeems too ſimple, too uncompounded to ſatisfy the groſs conceptions of the vulgar, or to anſwer the lucrative purpoſes of the chief Moghs, or Magi, now known, in India at leaſt, by the name of Duſtoors, or directors of their ritual, not improbably derived from the Perſian word *Duſtoor*, ſignifying form or cuſtom.

A number of years being elapſed ſince the death of Zoroaſter, his religion was no longer ſuffered to continue in its original purity. His books had been deſtroyed; but whether by accident, or purpoſely to make way for innovations that could not ſo well take place whilſt they were exiſting in judgment againſt them, I could not learn from any Parſee that I conſulted. However, loſt they all were, and the preſent capital law-book, called the Zendavaſtaw, in the ſame Pehlavi language, or old Perſian, was pretended to be compiled by memory from it, by Erda-viraph, one of the chief Magi. But to judge of it by the abſtract or tranſlation of it into the modern Perſian, by the ſon of Melikſhadi, a Duſtoor, who lived about two hundred and fifty years ago, and entitled Saad-dir, or the hundred gates, that ſame Erda-viraph muſt have greatly ſophiſticated and new-fangled the original doctrine by interpolations, additions, and foiſting in ſuperſtitions that much disfigured the groundwork of it. Thence probably ſo many of thoſe abſurd rites and ceremonies now in practice among the preſent Parſees, too tedious to particularize here, and ſo unworthy the ſenſe of ſo great a law-giver; ſuch as, for example, their laying ſo much ſtreſs on their cuſhee or girdle, as not to dare to be an

inſtant

inſtant without it; their over-acted reverence to that fire, which Zoroaſter appointed to be kept in only as a conſtant monitor to them to preſerve their purity, of which that element is ſo expreſſive a ſymbol; and which they carry ſuch a length, as not venturing to pray before it, without their mouth is covered with a ſmall ſquare flap of linen, like a ſhort apron, leſt they ſhould pollute the fire by breathing on it. Nor did theſe innovations take place with impunity: for without attributing their utter ſubſequent ruin and deſolation to any judgment on them, it is enough to obſerve, that thoſe very acts of ſuperſtition expoſed them to that conſtructive ſcandal, which rendered them ſo odious to the Mahometans eſpecially, and ſo ridiculous to other nations, of their paying a religious adoration to fire, which they never did or intended: but the appearances were by their own fault againſt them. Neither were theſe additions of Erda-viraph without a view to the temporal advantages of the Magi, to whom a neceſſity of applying for occaſional purifications, not without a fee or gratuity, was made a part of them in the new Zendavaſtaw. As to this book in the Pehlavi character, whatever difficulty there might be of obtaining a copy of it in Dr. Hyde's time, there has been none lately, it being eaſy enough to get one, at ſcarce any more expence than paying for the work of tranſcribing. I am alſo aſſured, there are ſeveral copies of it in England. If there are any other works, as I am not aſſured but what there are, that go in Zoroaſter's name, they are certainly none of his, there being no genuine remains of his original writing, or tranſlations from them, but are all compiled and probably adulterated, in the ſame manner as the Zenda-vaſtaw, and very likely by the ſame perſon.

YET

Yet notwithſtanding this ſpurious ingraftment, ſuch was ſtill the force of the ſap of the original ſtock, as to hinder the fruit from being intirely ſpoilt; for by what even to this day appears, it is certain that no morals are purer and more innocent, either in public or private life, than thoſe in general of the Parſees in India at leaſt. For as to thoſe in Perſia, chiefly known there by the name of Ghebers, Gaurs, or Attaſh-pereſts, Fire-worſhippers, I have little or no knowledge of them. There are, it is true, reports not ſo favorable of them, but which there are many reaſons for rejecting; beſides this ſtrong one, that calumny is often added to oppreſſion, if only for the ſake of juſtifying it.

There is alſo great reaſon to think that the Souffees of Perſia, ſo named either from their *white* garments, or that the term imports the ſame as the Grecian one Sophos, wiſe, are but a continuation of the antient Magi, although they outwardly conform to the Mahometan religion for peace-ſake, as numbers do of the modern Sabaïtes, or the Druſians and Kalbains, about mount Libanus, and in the confines of Bagdat. Theſe Souffees ſave appearances in reſpect to the Perſian government under which they live: but the bottom of their doctrine is the pureſt myſticiſm, which contradicting no religion, can put on the forms of all, and aſſimilate with all. This may be evidently proved by a compariſon of the works of thoſe Aſiatic myſtics, or contemplatiſts, with thoſe of our Chriſtian ones, where the ſame ſpirit of refinement reigns congenially in both; boaſting an intimate union with the deity, and a ſublime detachment from all worldly matters; and even the fire-philoſophy is in a great meaſure adopted by Jacob Behmen, the moſt celebrated of our modern myſtics, and a proteſtant, who almoſt wholly

builds his visionary system of theology upon it. The principal aim, however, of the Souffees, is to frame within themselves a mental Elyzium, by an extinction of all the passions, in sacrifice to God: in which state of quietism they say they feel a certain pleasure, like that of the body, when after being over-heated it is cooled by a refreshing breeze. They also, especially in the conduct of social life, recommend three points to observance; 1st, That of a grateful return to friendship and benefits; 2dly, To win all hearts by generosity; 3dly, Never to depart from sweetness of temper, truth and candor.

And here, on taking leave of this subject, I entreat the candid allowance of the reader for any obscurity bred by the abstruseness of some parts of it; especially, for the difficulty naturally cleaving to it, of finding terms to express ideas originally unfamiliar and new to me; and that difficulty greatly enhanced, as before observed, by the imperfectness of communication in a broken language.

CHAP. VI.

Of the GENTOO *funerals. Ceremony of interment: of cremation: and similarity of customs therein with the antient western world.*

IT was at Bombay that I had occasion to see the different ways in use among the Gentoos, for disposing of their dead, that of burying, and that of burning them, which last is much the most common.

As to the first, it was on the downs, that succeed to the sandy beach of Back-bay, that I happened to be present at the funeral ceremony of a

Ketteree,

Ketteree, or rather one of a particular caſt of the Ketterees, burying his wife, a young woman that ſeemed to be about twenty years of age. Thoſe who accompanied the huſband dug a pit exactly in the ſhape of a well, in one ſide of which there was a nich hollowed out for the corpſe to be depoſited in a ſitting poſture, with room enough for a plate of raw rice, and a jar of water by her ſide. As ſoon as the pit was ready, they put her into it, with all her cloaths and jewels, exactly as ſhe wore them when alive. But as ſoon as ſhe was placed, her huſband, who had until then ſtood ſtill, as a ſpectator, jumped into the grave, and very compoſedly took off all her jewels, and brought them up with him, after which the pit was filled up. It is to be obſerved, that though thoſe of the caſt of the Ketterees are commonly to be buried, the Rajahs, and the great men of it, have the privilege of being burnt after their death. The wives of thoſe who are not burnt, and have a mind to bear their huſbands company, have their necks twiſted round by a Bramin, on the brink of their graves, and are then interred with them.

As to the ceremony of burning, I ſaw it performed on the corpſe of a youth of about eighteen, the ſon of a Banyan. The funeral pile was prepared on the beach, the father aſſiſting at it bareheaded, with what little cloaths he had on him, coarſe and torn, which is their general manner of mourning. As ſoon as the corpſe was placed on the pile, and ſome prayers muttered by the attendant Bramin, fire was ſet to it at one of the corners; and the wood being dry, and in great quantity, it ſoon blazed up and conſumed the body to aſhes, without any noiſome ſmell; ſuch as however does not unfrequently happen if there is a ſcant of wood, or rain intervenes to damp it. The aſhes are gathered and thrown with ceremony into the

ſea

ſea by a Bramin, who for that purpoſe wades into it as far as he ſafely can. Thoſe who are the moſt bigotted and can afford the expence of it, leave orders for their aſhes to be collected in an urn, ſealed up, and carried to be thrown into the Ganges, to whoſe waters they attribute a peculiar ſanctity. But what drew my attention moſt in the courſe of the above ceremony, was the behavior of the father, who, according to the Gentoo cuſtom of its being always the next and deareſt male relation, to ſet fire to the pile, walked thrice round it with a ſort of deſperate haſte, and then with his face averted, thruſt his hand behind him, and gave fire to it, after which he, with the appearance of the utmoſt agonies, rolled himſelf in the ſand, beating his breaſt, and tearing his fleſh.

This alſo preſents another ſtriking conformity with the Indians, of the Romans and weſtern Heathens, as may be ſeen in more than one deſcription of their burning their dead *. This, however, and numberleſs other inſtances that might be produced of ſimilarity of cuſtoms, religious and civil, ſeem to countenance the opinion before-mentioned, that the practice of the Indians had progreſſively penetrated ſo far weſt as Italy, in the very earlieſt ages, and even before Rome itſelf was founded. Nor will the channel of pervaſion of the continent appear doubtful or obſcure, to thoſe who conſider the connections of Egypt with Greece, and of Greece with Italy, and how naturally the importations of the Indian cuſtoms may be traced to the expeditions of Oſyris and Bacchus (whom ſome authors have confounded with Oſyris) and others into that country.

* ——Subjectam, more parentum,
Averſi tenuere facem.—— Virg. En. Lib. VI. Verſ. 223.
The circumſtance of going thrice round the pile, may be met with in other authors.

try. As to the latter ages, there is no doubt, but that the knowledge of India was as familiar in Rome, as it may now be in England; embaſſies having even come from the princes of it to Auguſtus Cæſar, after the Roman wars under his auſpices had been puſhed to the borders of it. Beſides, that there was undoubtedly a conſiderable trade carried on between India and the Roman dominions, through Egypt by the Red-ſea, by the Euphrates in the Perſian Gulph, and over land through Perſia itſelf; which kingdom gave alſo paſſage to the firſt ſilk brought from China, then called the nation of the Seres, whence the Latin word of Sericum for ſilk. India, however, ceaſed for a long time to be ſo well known, from the interruption of all commerce with it, by the troubles that followed and deſolated both the Roman empire, and the intermediary countries, till at length it was reſumed by the Salernitans and Venetians, opening indirectly a trade with it by the way of Grand Cairo, and Aleppo, by means of the Arabs, and the Perſian Caravans which floriſhed conſiderably, till the Portugueſe Vaſco Gama, in 1497, diſcovered the navigation to the Indian ocean; ſince when India itſelf is once more become familiar to the weſtern world, and the trade to it more commodiouſly extended.

BOOK V.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

CHAP. I.

Variety of the GENTOO *cuſtoms, and of the weather in the peninſula of* INDOSTAN. *Account of a ſpecies of* PIGMIES *in the* CARNATIC *country. Remarks on the* Gentoos *to the north of proper* MALABAR. *Story of a female warrior challenging a* MORATTOE *general.* Gentoos *expenſive in their marriages; affect corpulence; fond of high-ſeaſoning, pepper, myrabolans, creeatt, and ſagoe: practice of chewing betel; cachoondah, cachoo, confectionary. Some Caſts drink ſtrong liquors, and eat fiſh and other animal food. Effects of a fiſh diet. Reſervedneſs of the* Gentoo-women. BRAMINS *and* BANYANS *revengeful. Poiſoning in* INDIA *has been exaggerated. Account of a particular poiſon.* Bramins *in ſecular employs; confeſs the unity of God. Great difference of the proper* Malabars *from the more northern* INDIANS. *Plurality of huſbands: nudity of breaſts. Story thereon of a queen of* ATTINGA: *the ſovereigns of* Attinga *always females. Manners of the* Malabars: *articles of their dreſs. Miſſionaries ſcheme of paſſing for* European Bramins: *ſtory of the hypocriſy of one.* Malabar *feaſts. Rajah of* SARIMPATAM'*s forces trained up to noſe-cutting.* — *Of* EUROPEAN *ſettlements*

ſettlements on the Malabar *coaſt.——Plagues and earthquakes not common in* India. Bramins *treatment of bloody fluxes: mordechin, barbees: ſunriſe, its unwholſome effect. Chronical diſtempers rare in* India.

HOWEVER the Gentoos are comprehended and known to the Europeans under that common appellation, which is derived from the corrupt Portugueſe Lingua Franca, generalized over the maritime coaſts of India, ſignifying Gentiles or Heathens; and though their religion is every where at bottom the ſame; it is inconceivable how much the various nations of them in that vaſt peninſula of Indoſtan differ in their civil cuſtoms and manners, not extenſively on the ſame coaſt, but where they are only ſeparated by the Ball-a-gat mountains, which are extremely high, and ſo called from *Bal* mountain, and *gatt* flat, becauſe one part of them affords large and delicious plains on their ſummit, little known to Europeans. They divide that tract of land, of which one ſide is called the coaſt of Coromandel, the other that of proper Malabar, beginning as before noted, at Mount-Dilly; the whole peninſula narrowing to the point, like a tongue, to Cape Comorin, which terminates that part of the continent of India to the ſouthward. Nor is the variety leſs in the weather itſelf, which nothing more than the partition made by thoſe hills renders ſo different at the ſame time of the year, that the winter monſoon reigns along the Coromandel ſide, whilſt the ſummer one prevails on that of Malabar, and yet they lie all under one latitude, and in ſome places there are ſcarce a hundred leagues from the coaſt to the other ſide.

But as the land northerns, the continent grows broader and broader, and the inland-parts in ſome places

places towards the hills are covered with immenſe impenetrable forreſts, that afford a ſhelter for wild beaſts of all ſorts. But in that which forms the inland-boundary of the Carnatic Rajah's dominions, there is one ſingular ſpecies of creatures, of which I had heard much in India, and of the truth of which the following fact, that happened ſome time before my arrival there, may ſerve for an atteſtation.

VENCAJEE, a merchant of that country, and an inhabitant on the ſea-coaſt, ſent up to Bombay to the then governor of it, Mr. Horne, a couple of thoſe creatures before-mentioned as a preſent, by a coaſting veſſel, of which one captain Boag was the maſter, and the make of which, according to his deſcription, and that of others, was as follows.

THEY were ſcarcely two feet high, walked erect, and had perfectly an human form. They were of a ſallow white, without any hair, except in thoſe parts that it is cuſtomary for mankind to have it. By their melancholy, they ſeemed to have a rational ſenſe of their captivity, and had many of the human actions. They made their bed very orderly in the cage in which they were ſent up, and on being viewed, would endeavor to conceal with their hands thoſe parts that modeſty forbids manifeſting. The joints of their knees were not re-entring like thoſe of monkies, but ſaliant like thoſe of men; a circumſtance they have (if I miſtake not) in common with the Oranoutangs in the eaſtern parts of India, in Sumatra, Java, and the Spice-iſlands, of which theſe ſeem to be the diminutives, though with nearer approaches of reſemblance to the human ſpecies. But though the navigation from the Carnatic coaſt to Bombay is of a very ſhort run, of not above ſix or ſeven degrees, whether the ſea-air did not agree with them, or that they could not brook their confinement, or that captain Boag had
not

not properly conſulted their proviſion, the female ſickening firſt died, and the male giving all the demonſtrations of grief, ſeemed to take it to heart ſo, that he refuſed to eat, and in two days after followed her. The captain, on his return to Bombay, reporting this to the governor, was by him aſked, What he had done with the bodies? He ſaid, he had flung them over-board. Being further aſked, Why he did not keep them in ſpirits? He replied bluntly, that he did not think of it. Upon this the governor wrote afreſh to Vencajee, and deſired him to procure another couple, at any rate, as he ſhould grudge no expence to be maſter of ſuch a curioſity. Vencajee's anſwer was, He would very willingly oblige him, but that he was afraid it would not be in his power: that theſe creatures came from a foreſt about ſeventy leagues up the country, where the inhabitants would ſometimes catch them on the ſkirts of it, but that they were ſo exquiſitely cunning and ſhy, that this ſcarcely happened once in a century.

If the above relation ſhould be true, as there is no reaſon to doubt it, we have here a proof, that the exiſtence of pygmies is not entirely fabulous, as nothing can nearer approach the deſcription of them.

As to the differences between the various nations of the Indians of theſe countries, they are ſo many, and ſo great, as to treat of them fully and in order would be impoſſible to me, both for the extenſiveneſs of the matter, and my not being thoroughly acquainted with them. I ſhall only mention a few particulars.

The Gentoos to the northward of Mount-Dilly, as the Canarines for example, and the Sundah-rajah's ſubjects, all follow pretty nearly the ſame cuſtoms as the Morattoes before deſcribed, except that trade is more encouraged in their dominions.

As

As for the Angrias and Kempſaunt, a petty Rajah on the coaſt, they chiefly dealt in piracy; as alſo the Malwans, whoſe capital reſidence was a ſmall iſland on that coaſt, fortified quite round, where they kept their cruizers; but theſe, as well as Kempſaunt, were rather friendly towards the Engliſh, whoſe paſſes they reſpected, on account of their jealouſy of Angria. Next to Kempſaunt's country lies a ſmall independent government, conſtitutionally ſubject to a woman, or petty Rannee, which is the feminine gender of Rajah. It is but lately that one of theſe female ſovereigns, by name Debooree, who could raiſe about five thouſand horſe, which is their way of computing their ſtrength, had ſo much the amazon in her, that on a ſon of her's being killed in battle by the famous Badgerou, the head general of the Mar-rajah's, the ſame who lately conquered Baſſaïm, and the iſland of Salſet from the Portugueſe, ſhe ſent him a challenge in form, which Badgerou very ſenſibly declined, giving for anſwer, that the ſtake was not equal, for that ſhe might gain immortal reputation by conquering Badgerou, but that he could not poſſibly acquire any by conquering a woman.

The Gentoos are in their marriage ceremonies extremely expenſive, though frugal in every other article of life. Some of them will even go near to ruin themſelves in the celebration of their childrens nuptials, and laviſh away upon them what would be a handſome proviſion for the married couple when grown up. For, as I before obſerved, they make a point of entering them very young into the ſtate of wedlock. Then it is they ſpare no coſt for feaſting, ornaments of their houſes, proceſſions, muſic, dancing-girls, fireworks, and the like, in the pomp of which they out-vye one another; it being a matter of ambition with them to have it ſaid, how much was expended at a ſon's wedding.

wedding. The Bramins too come in for their ſhare of the entertainment and preſents, their function being neceſſary to perform the ceremony. Some of the great merchants, eſpecially at Bengal, have been known to ſpend a lack of rupees, about twelve thouſand pounds; and, beſides making conſiderable preſents, have invited the Engliſh gentlemen to an entertainment furniſhed at their charge exactly in the Engliſh manner, under the direction of an Engliſh ſteward, for which they have allowed as far as five hundred pounds. In ſhort, there are few of them who do not in this point ſtretch their abilities.

The Gentoos too, as well as many of the Orientaliſts in general, affect corpulence, which they imagine adds to the dignity of their port, as they ſtrut behind a prominent belly, like the pidgeon called the Dutch cropper. To compaſs this, ſome of them will drink every day large quantities of Ghee, a kind of liquid butter, preſerved by being melted, and is kept in that fluid ſtate by the heat of the climate. This they imagine breeds fat, though it is hard to conceive, that it ſhould not rather deſtroy their ſtomach by the rankneſs it muſt produce in it. They pretend however that experience authorizes this practice. It might ſo, as to their intention, for any thing I ſaw to contradict this opinion, in the ſize of ſome of thoſe who made uſe of it; but I have reaſon to think it unwholeſome even for them, if but for that groſs habit of body it is ſuppoſed to produce.

The Banyans, eſpecially at Surat and Bombay, as they eat no fleſh or drink any ſpirituous liquors, aim at ſomething ſupplemental to that heartening diet, not only in the heat of the ſpices, and of the long-pepper, red or green, which they eat raw, or pickled with their rice, or mix with their currees, but are fond of the drug

Aſſa-

Aſſa fœtida, which they call Hing, and of a finer and more tranſparent ſort of it called Hingurah, both brought from Perſia. The conſequence however of which fetid part of their cookery is, that they ſmell exceeding ſtrong of it, not only at the mouth, but from its perſpiration through every pore. They ſay in their defence that it is very wholeſome, cordial, and a great corrector of all crudity, or indigeſtion.

Pepper too they inſiſt on being cooling; but with what truth, I know not, only that it is certain, that on the Malabar coaſt where it grows, and where one would think whole ages ſhould have inſtructed them in its qualities, it is their conſtant practice to give it in great quantities, in the vehicle of congee, which is a kind of rice-gruel, and that in the moſt burning fevers.

Myrabolans they generally uſe in purging, and have the higheſt opinion of their effects, either as a preventive, or a medicine. Their are various ſorts of them: ſome they pretend are ſo ſtrong, that they will operate by barely holding one in the hand clutched. But perhaps this may be only an Aſiatic exaggeration.

They have alſo a dry reed, which I have been told has ſome affinity to the Centaury major. They call it Creeatt, and on infuſion in warm water it yields a bitter potion, which they ſay is a ſovereign ſtomachic, and promoter of digeſtion.

Of the Sagoe, from the eaſtern parts of India they have no ſort of opinion, inſiſting, that the appearance it has of a jelly, or mucilage, when boiled, is a falſe promiſe of nouriſhment, being eſſentially wateriſh and unſubſtantial.

All theſe I have only mentioned for the ſake of ſuggeſting reflections to better judges, and without taking on me in the leaſt to determine how far the Indians are right or wrong in their notions.

The

The practice of chewing Betel is univerſal over India, as well as on the coaſt of China. It is produced at all viſits and entertainments among one another, and even to the Europeans, ſome of whom, eſpecially the Portugueſe, and very rarely indeed ſome of the Engliſh, have adopted the habit. It is ſometimes offered only in the way of civility, as a glaſs of wine among us; but in large companies, it is brought in ready made up on Japan chargers, which they call from the Portugueſe name Bandejahs, ſomething like our tea boards, and diſtributed round.

The doſe, if I may ſo call it, muſt neceſſarily conſiſt of the three ingredients, the Betel-leaf, the Arek or Betel-nut, and Chunam; for wanting any of theſe, that deep red color, which reſults from their mixture in maſtication, would alſo fail.

The Betel-leaf is ſomething like that of a laurel, and grows upon poles like the hop. The leaf is full of large fibres, which with that of the middle they generally ſtrip off with the nail. It has a hot, biting taſte, not unpleaſing when one is uſed to it.

The Arek-nut is exactly in form and bigneſs like a nutmeg, only harder; marbled in the inſide with white and reddiſh ſtreaks; inſipid to the taſte, and muſt be ſhredded with a kind of ſciſſors, they are never without for that purpoſe, ſo as to wrap it up with the leaf. They uſe it both raw and boiled, which laſt they ſay preſerves and adds ſtrength to it. But I would not adviſe any one to taſte it green, ſince it affects the animal ſpirits ſo powerfully, that inſtantaneouſly as it were, thoſe who are not uſed to it, fall down as in a trance; it is true they recover preſently, and without any ill conſequences.

The Chunam is only a lime burnt and made of the fineſt ſhells. For uſe it muſt be wetted, exactly

as if to ſerve for mortar, and is held in gold, ſilver, or metal round boxes.

To theſe three articles is often added for luxury what they call Cachoonda, a Japan-earth, which, from perfumes and other mixtures, chiefly manufactured at Goa, receives ſuch improvement, as to be ſold to advantage when re-imported to Japan. It is made up in little round cakes of ſcarce the breadth of half a crown, but ſomewhat thicker. The ſurface is a dark dingy brown, the maſs of a brittle gritty texture, and breaks white. The taſte is at firſt little better than that of common chalk, but ſoon turns to a ſavor that dwells agreeably upon the palate.

Another addition too they uſe of what they call Catchoo, being a blackiſh granulated perfumed compoſition, of the ſize of ſmall ſhot, which they carry in little boxes on purpoſe. They are pleaſingly taſted, and are reckoned provocatives, when taken alone, which is not a ſmall conſideration with the Aſiatics in general.

They pretend that this uſe of Betel ſweetens the breath, fortifies the ſtomach, though the juice is rarely ſwallowed, and preſerves the teeth, though it reddens them; but, I am apt to believe, that there is more of a vitious habit than any medicinal virtue in it, and that it is like tobacco, chiefly matter of pleaſure.

The Gentoos in general are fond of ſweetmeats and confectionary, and have an infinite variety of ſorts of them; many of them unknown to us in Europe, and ſome of them may doubtleſs be very good, though I never taſted any I could call ſo.

The Rajahs and great officers among the Gentoos, though prohibited by their law to drink ſpirituous liquors; yet being of the Ketteree caſt, which is far leſs ſtrict than that of the Bramins and Banyans,

Banyans, aſſume to themſelves a diſpenſing power in this point, and will indulge themſelves eſpecially in cordial drams. They may alſo eat fiſh, and ſome particular ſorts of animal food; but as to beef, they are to the full as rigorous in their abſtinence from it, as any of the ſtricteſt caſts of the Gentoos whatever. They allow themſelves a greater latitude in the plurality of wives and concubines; moſt of the Bramins and Banyans contenting themſelves with one, unleſs ſhe is, on competent experience, found to be barren, which is among them reckoned a great misfortune and reproach, but which is however very rarely the caſe.

THE women begin to bear children at twelve years of age, and even much younger; for I have ſeen them pregnant in their tenth, but then their teeming time is ſoon over. It is not common for them to have any after thirty, about which time, and often before that, they go entirely out of bloom, and loſe all that plumpneſs and delicacy for which they are ſo juſtly remarkable. This is, however, not to be underſtood of the celebrated beauties of Caſhmeer, who being born in a more northern climate, and in a purer air among the mountains of that country, bordering on north-eaſt Tartary, retain their charms and prolific faculty, as long at leaſt as any European women. But theſe generally fall to the ſhare of the principal Moors or Moguls.

I COULD not help obſerving the efficacy of a fiſh-diet, wherever there were fiſhermens villages by the ſea-ſide, which were conſtantly ſwarming with children, beyond what could be any where elſe ſeen. Surely then the preſident Monteſquieu was not out in his remark, that ſuch a diet muſt diametrically counter-act the intention of the eccleſiaſtical legiſlators of the Romiſh church, who ſo judiciouſ-

ly

ly prescribed it by way of mortification of the flesh, or in aid of continency. Such is their infallibility!

I HAVE before mentioned the liberty of the Gentoo women, and their rarely abusing it. When they appear abroad, or stand at their doors, they seem, by their looks at least, and their muttering, to resent it as an high affront, if any one stops to view or consider them. Some of them will with a disdainful air speak out aloud, and often use these words, "Deckh na mur," look and die, and certainly they are in general shy of any men speaking to them unless their husbands. Was a woman seen to suffer any of the other sex, except some very near relaticss to talk to her, though it were ever so innocently, she forfeits her reputation, if not her cast, as much as if things had been carried to extremities. The Bramins and Banyans too, with all the seeming liberty they allow their own wives, reproach the Europeans for suffering theirs to converse familiarly with other men; and when they are told, that we entirely depend on their virtue, they shake their heads, and answer with a proverb, that will sound but coarsely in our language, "That if butter is trusted too near the "fire, it will hardly keep from melting"

THE Gentoos in general are not only tenacious of their religion, but of all their traditional customs; their manner of life having probably admitted of little or no variation from what it was in the first ages. They live almost entirely by rule, and the whole tenor of life in one, according to his respective cast, is exactly the same in every point, as that of his ancestors and cotemporaries; which makes that the description of them by former travellers, is precisely conformable to what may be seen at this day.

IT is also observed, that the Bramins and Banyans do not want for that vice of cowards, vin-

dictiveness.

dictiveneſs. Averſe as they are to blood, they ſtick at nothing to compaſs their revenge by the ruin of their adverſaries: and if incapable of effectuating it perſonally themſelves, like women, and thoſe of a non-fighting profeſſion, ſo true it is, that the human heart is every where the ſame at bottom, they are but the more obſtinate in purſuing their point, by all the arts their inventiveneſs can ſuggeſt to them. They know perfectly well how to inſinuate themſelves with governors, and men of power, by the ſuppleneſs of their character, and the uſe they make themſelves of to them, ſo as to induce them to be the inſtruments of their revenge. This is eſpecially the practice of the Banyans, where they have conceived an envy or jealouſy of trade, when they ſpare for no cunning to hurt or ſupplant one another, and yet have ſo much the art of preſerving appearances, as not to be ſuſpected of the miſchief they cauſe under-hand, and employ ſuch refinements of policy, as the moſt thorough European courtier would not diſown.

Much has been ſaid of the prevailingneſs of the art of poiſoning in the Eaſt-Indies: but by the beſt information I could procure, there is neither more of that infernal practice, nor greater ſkill in it than in any other part of the world. I have heard it indeed ſaid, that on the banks of the Ganges, there is produced a ſeed, that if once ſwallowed will adhere cloſely to the coats of the ſtomach, where it vegetates, and ſpreads its ramifications ſo as to deſtroy a man, without its being in the power of medicines to extirpate, or obſtruct its growth. But before reaſoning on the naturally ſeeming impoſſibility of ſuch an effect, it would be firſt neceſſary to verify the fact; which was never in my power, and I have only mentioned it for the ſingularity of the invention, if, as moſt probable, it is one.

The Bramins, as being the hereditary depositaries of all the literature, as well as of the religion of the country, are generally in the higheſt conſideration, and employed by the Gentoo Rajahs as their miniſters and ſecretaries. Theſe laſt, under the title of Nagur-Bramins, or Scribes, have, in ſome parts, a ſingular way of prefixing the cypher of the number one, at the head of their letters, as ſome Romaniſts do the ſign of the croſs. By this they mean to repreſent the unity of God, which, though rather out of its place, I could not omit, in confirmation of what has been before advanced, of their ſimplification at bottom of all the divinities of their mythology, into the ſervants of one ſupreme God. But as if all theſe politically miniſterial Bramins had renounced the virtues of their condition, with its practical and ſpeculative duties, they moſt commonly take the bent of the court, and adopt its principles of rapine and oppreſſion, of which they will even ſubmit to be the inſtruments, and occaſionally give as little quarter to their own brethren, as to any others; which ſpirit of theirs makes a total difference between the worldly Bramins, and the religious contemplative ones, who remain within their ſphere, and preſerve all the ſimplicity and purity of their ſequeſtered life.

Yet even this corruption, reproached to the others, has not hitherto entirely penetrated to the Malabar countries, properly ſo called: where, though the Bramins are in the ſame or rather greater eſteem, and have more the lead of affairs, they retain more of the humanity and diſintereſtedneſs of their primitive inſtitution.

But indeed nothing can hardly be imagined more different in general, than the cuſtoms and manners of the Malabars from the more northern parts,

parts, though undivided from them but by an imaginary line, beginning at Mount-Dilly, in the latitude of 12 north. Here the whole government and people wear a new face and form. The country, known by that name, comprehends a tract of land extended to Cape Comorin, and is bounded in-land by that vaſt chain of mountains which ſeparates that coaſt from the Coromandel, and runs up through the whole Indoſtan, till it loſes itſelf in the extremities of northern Tartary, or even extends farther to the very Pole itſelf.

THIS maſs of country called Proper Malabar, is divided into a multitude of petty kingdoms, or chief-ſhips; through which are diffuſed nearly the ſame modes of religion, manners, and policy.

THE higheſt dignitaries among the Bramins are called, by a Malabar name, Nambeorees: next to theſe are the common Bramins, or Nambyars; after whom come the Nayrs, a ſort of military nobility that runs hereditary, as all profeſſions do in the other tribes of India. It is among them that principally prevails the ſtrange cuſtom of one wife being common to a number: in which point the great power of cuſtom is ſeen, from its rarely or never producing any jealouſies or quarrels among the co-tenants of the ſame woman. Their number is not ſo much limited by any ſpecific law, as by a kind of tacit convention, it ſcarce ever happening that it exceeds ſix or ſeven. The woman however is under no obligation to admit above a ſingle attachment, though not leſs reſpected for uſing her privilege to its utmoſt extent. If one of the huſbands happens to come to the houſe when ſhe is employed with another, he knows that circumſtance by certain ſignals left at the door, that his turn is not come, and departs very reſignedly. It is owing however to the doubtful paternity, which ſuch a practice muſt neceſſarily create,

that inheritances defcend by the females, and that the nepotifm by the fifter's fide conftantly takes place, in quality of the fureft proximity of blood.

The women of thofe countries are not allowed to cover any part of their breafts, to the naked difplay of which they annex no idea of immodefty, which in fact ceafes by the familiarity of it to the eye. Moft Europeans at their firft arrival experience the force of temptation from fuch a nudity on the foot of the ideas, to which their education and cuftoms have habituated them: but it is not long before thofe impreffions by their frequency entirely wear off, and they view it with as little emotion as the natives themfelves, or as any of the moft obvious parts of the body, the face, or hands.

In fome parts of the Malabar, this cuftom is however more rigoroufly obferved than in others. A Queen of Attinga, on a woman of her country coming into her prefence, who having been fome time in an European fettlement, where fhe had conformed to the fafhion there, had continued the concealment of her breafts, ordered them to be cut off, for daring to appear before her with fuch a mark of difrefpect to the eftablifhed manners of the country.

This Queen of Attinga is the hereditary fovereign of a dominion, in which the Englifh have their fettlement of Anjengo, towards the Cape Comorin. By the conftitution of its laws, it muft be always a female that governs. It is againft the law for her to marry; but that heireffes of her blood may not be wanting fhe may choofe whom, and as many as fhe pleafes to admit to the honor of her bed. The handfomeft young men about the court, generally compofe her feraglio. The fons fall into the rank of the nobility; and the daughters only can pretend to the fucceffion.

From

The North East View of Angengo Fort on the Coast of Mallebar.

From ſuch ſtrange cuſtoms one would naturally enough conclude, that nothing but ſuch a barbariſm reigns in the Malabar as among the ſavages of America: yet this is far from being the caſe. The Malabars have in general even a certain politeneſs, and eſpecially a ſhrewdneſs of diſcernment of their intereſts, which thoſe who deal or treat with them are ſure to experience. Like moſt of the Orientaliſts, they are grave, know perfectly well how to keep dignity, and are great obſervers of ſilence, eſpecially in their public functions. They deſpiſe and diſtruſt all verboſeneſs in the management of ſtate affairs. Their harangues are ſuccinct and pathetic. A king of Travancore, for example, on two ambaſſadors being ſent to him by the Naïck of Madura, a neighboring prince, and one of them having made a prolix ſpeech, and the other preparing to take it up and proceed in the ſame manner, where the other had left off, auſterely admoniſhed him in theſe few words, "Do not be long, life is ſhort."

Most of the Malabars, male and female, are particularly fond of having their ears hang almoſt as low as their ſhoulders, which is effected while they are young, by boring the lobes of them, and introducing a ſlip of a brab-tree leaf ſpirally folded, and renewed in proportion as the hole grows wider and wider, from the conſtant elaſticity of its endeavor to recover its ſtreightneſs, and when arrived at its utmoſt, they adorn them with ear-pendants, heavy enough one would imagine to burſt the griſtle; in the upper-part of which they alſo ſtick jewels of value according to their circumſtances.

It is on the ſouthernmoſt part of this coaſt that, taking the benefit of the uſual indulgence of the Gentoos in matters of religion, ſome Romiſh miſſionaries penetrated into the country; and the better

ter to inſinuate themſelves put on the Bramins dreſs, and even adopted the ſtring, which is chiefly their badge of diſtinction, worn acroſs their ſhoulders exactly like the ribbons of orders in Europe. It is compoſed of brown cotton threads, knotted at diſtances, and is what the Bramins eſpecially are never ſeen without. With a view to palm themſelves upon theſe people for European Bramins, the miſſionaries alſo decorated themſelves therewith; but not without a previous application to the court of Rome, where they repreſented it as a purely civil, not a religious matter; which was undoubtedly falſe, ſince thoſe tribes who wear it boaſt of it as a ſacred inſtitution of the God Brama himſelf. But if they had not been profoundly ignorant of the hiſtory of their own church, they might have ſpared themſelves the expence of ſuch an untruth: for it is well known, that in the three firſt and beſt ages of chriſtianity, the clergy, ſuch as it then was, could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from the laity, unleſs by its greater innocence, and ſanctity of manners. The ſucceeding prieſts ſoon departed from that primitive ſimplicity, and made no ſcruple of adopting the garb of the Gentiles; as for example, the particular cloak of the philoſophers, now their eſpiſcopal pallium; nor of borrowing from the prieſts of the heathen gods their taudry faſhions of dreſs, which to this day furniſh the chief articles of their conſecrated toilet.

One of theſe miſſionaries, on an Engliſh gentleman aſking him, how he durſt venture himſelf among ſo many naked-breaſted beauties, defended by no armor but that of a frail chaſtity, anſwered, that he had not been inſenſible to the temptation, but that his method of ſubduing it was, by dropping melted wax on the peccant fleſh, thus to correct one burning by another: on which the Engliſh gentleman

gentleman put him into a confufion, equivalent to a confeffion of his impudent hypocrify, by telling him, with a very philofophical coolnefs, that he fuppofed, by his anfwer, he took him for a Portuguefe.

The princes and chiefs of the Malabar dominions, and efpecially the Samorin of Calicut, often, on particular occafions, and feftival-days, make entertainments to which the whole country round is invited; and where the quantity, rather than the quality of the victuals provided, inflames the charge of them, being chiefly rice, the pea-like grain of Dholl, with the fauce of turmeric, coconut, and other vegetables, all which articles are in thofe parts extremely cheap, and the beverage is never but pure water: they are however, literally fpeaking, cramming-matches; for it is not uncommon for fome of the guefts, tempted by the free-coft of them, to overcharge their ftomachs, fo as to die under it. This is treated by the reft as matter of pleafantry; and when they mean to celebrate the magnificence of any fuch feaft, they do it by telling the numbers that burft at it.

On the back of the Samorin's dominions, and contiguous to them, lies the country of the Rajah of Sarimpatam; not that I could hear of yet fubdued. It has been a conftantly received law with them, never to make any but a defenfive war, and even then not to kill a man though it were in battle; inftead of which, they practice a fingular method of fighting that has not, it feems, been without its fuccefs. Their military was trained up to a particular dexterity, at cutting off the nofes of their enemies in an engagement; and the dread of incurring this deformity, a dread equal in many to that of death, proved fufficient to keep neighbors,

not much more martial than themſelves, from effectually attacking them. This reminds one of the famous ſtratagem of Julius Cæſar, at the battle of Pharſalia, riding round the ranks of his hardy rugged veterans, and directing them to aim ſpecially at the faces of the young delicate effeminate Patricians oppoſed to them. "*Miles faciem* "*feri.*"

The Europeans, Engliſh, French, and Dutch have lined as it were the coaſt of Malabar with their fortified ſettlements and factories. Some were obtained by force, others by inſinuation: but in general the powers in thoſe parts are not diſpleaſed with having them in their countries, to which they are undoubtedly a benefit by the protection they occaſionally afford them againſt their enemies, as well as for the trade they bring to it, and for the vent they procure of the natural and artificial produce of them, by which their revenue is encreaſed: and to do them juſtice, it is ſeldom their faults if any quarrels with them happen. It is oftener that of the European governors and chiefs, whom private paſſions, prejudices, and intereſts miſlead into engaging their employers into expenſive and detrimental feuds or wars, which they repreſent as honorable and neceſſary; or under ſuch plauſible, though falſe colors, as to obtain their approbation and ſanction, whilſt at ſuch a diſtance, it is hard for the miſ-information to be diſcovered. Thoſe princes who are not a match for the European artillery and diſcipline, on conceiving any diſguſt or reſentment, have fallen on a way diſtreſſing of ſuch ſettlements, not only by harraſſing them with alarms, and a war of ambuſhes to the very gates of their fortifications; but by laying a general interdict on the trade and dealings of their ſubjects with them. It is true, that themſelves

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are in the mean time not a little ſufferers by the ceſſation of their emoluments, and even of the ſubſiſtence of their people; but this they can ofteneſt diſpenſe with for a time long enough not to be the firſt tired. Not unfrequently too, they turn the channel of commerce into other European governments, always alert to ſupplant one another, and avail themſelves towards it of theſe miſ-underſtandings, of which they have perhaps under-hand ſown the ſeeds, or fomented the growth.

As to the climate in general of India, it is far from unwholſome, unleſs where particular accidents of ſituation diſaffect the air; as the neighborhood of ſwamps, the dry burning ſands on the ſea-coaſt, or the freedom of ventilation intercepted by woods. The heats are rarely ſuch as to be intolerable, eſpecially on abſtaining from any exceſs in ſpirituous liquors, ſtrong indigeſt foods, or violent exerciſe.

It is alſo remarkable, that thoſe countries are ſeldom if ever afflicted with thoſe two ſcourges in nature, earthquakes and plagues.

As to the firſt, the ſtate of the cave at Elephanta is a proof, that for at leaſt theſe two thouſand years, thoſe parts have been exempt from it; though their mountainous ſituation near the ſea-ſide, like that of Naples, Sicily, and Liſbon, might make ſuch a viſitation naturally expected.

And as to plagues, I never could learn that there was any tradition, or hiſtory of any remarkable ones known there beyond certain epidemical diſtempers, ſuch as the bloody fluxes chiefly incident to Europeans, and the ſmall-pox more peculiar to the natives; and which ſometimes rages ſomewhat in the nature of a plague, making

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great havock among them, eſpecially on the Malabar coaſt.

For bloody fluxes, the Bramins ſuggeſt a very ſimple, and as they pretend a moſt infallible remedy, conſiſting in a ſtrict abſtinence from every thing but rice ſtewed dry; to which they allow no ſauce of any kind whatever, and attribute to it an abſorbent quality, that is excellent againſt that acrimony which preys on the entrails, and breeds the diſorder. For drink they give nothing but water, corrected by a very moderate quantity of cinnamon or Caſſia-lignum. As to the Tellicherry-bark, long boaſted as a ſpecific in this diſtemper, it ſeems to have lately greatly declined in practice, probably from experience having ſhewn, that it was not ſo much to be truſted to as was imagined.

There is likewiſe known on the Malabar-coaſt chiefly, a moſt violent diſorder they call the Mordechin; which ſeizes the patient with ſuch fury of purging, vomiting, and tormina of the inteſtines, that it will often carry him off in thirty hours. For this the phyſicians among the natives know no more effectual remedy, than the actual cautery applied to the ſoles of the feet, the powerful rerevulſion of which rarely fails of a ſalutary efficacy.

The Barbeers is another dreadful illneſs of the paralytic kind, that attacks moſtly the Europeans, and deprives them of the uſe of their limbs. The natives, with what reaſon I know not, ſay, that it is moſt commonly brought on by venereal exceſſes, having irrecoverably exhauſted the radical moiſture and ſpirits of life. The Portugueſe apply to ſuch as are in this condition, from that circumſtance, the term of *Esfalfados:* but I am far from clear, that by it they mean all who are afflicted with the Barbeers; which, not denying, but it

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may ſometimes be the effect of that cauſe, is not always ſo; being ſometime produced by colds caught by lying out expoſed to the dew, or night-air, and by the conſequences of fevers, eſpecially by being over-phyſicked for venereal complaints.

The Malabar phyſicians particularly are of opinion, that it is unwholeſome to be out in the air at ſun-riſe; for that at that time it gives a certain life and activity to the noxious damp vapors of the atmoſphere, riſen during its abſence; but which its power encreaſing with its aſcent, conquers and diſpels.

Chronical diſorders, ſuch as the gout, rheumatiſm, ſtone, conſumption, &c. are rarely known in thoſe parts; and indeed none of the diſtempers, more particular to them, are ſo frequent or general, as to form a juſt objection to the venturing into that climate. Thoſe who live any thing regular, or who liſten to the preventive advice of ſuch as are acquainted with the nature of it, rarely incurring more danger from it, than what they might find in their native ſpot.

CHAP. II.

Summary reflections on the trade of INDIA. *That trade advantageous to the nation. Certain objections to it discussed.*

THE trade to, from, and in India, has so long been carried on in an established known rote of practice, that the public could certainly learn nothing new from any particular accounts of it into which I might descend. I shall only then hazard here such reflections, as occured to me on the view of it, in its totality.

IT has been said, speciously indeed, but falsely, that the returns from India, consisted chiefly either in articles of pure luxury, or such as tended to discourage the industry of our native manufacturers, by interfering with the produce of it, from their being to be afforded cheaper; and that these articles, ruinous in either sense, were yet further so by their not being to be had but in exchange for bullion, of which they consequently impoverished the nation, and for so few of our home-manufactures, as did not form an object considerable enough to counter-balance the exportation of the other.

To this heavy accusation has been opposed a very solid defence, consisting of proofs, that admitting of no falsification, admit of no doubt; proofs from accounts easily verifiable, of the balance of national advantages being greatly in favor of that trade.

NOTHING is plainer, than that manufactures or employment being wanting to the industrious or useful subjects is so far from being the case, that of these there is rather wanting a sufficient number of

of them to the work that might be found for them at reaſonable rates, and to the demands of the government for the ſervice and defence of their country.

Whoever will enter more than ſuperficially into this diſquiſition, will find, that pretended ſuperabundance of ſubjects, having reaſons to complain of the labor of the Indians defrauding them of the livelihood to be got by theirs, might be more profitably, to the public and to themſelves, employed in branches that would encreaſe the national wealth and power; ſuch as the more thorough cultivation of our old colonies, foundation of new and uſeful ones, improving of agriculture, and eſpecially ſtrengthening that great national bulwark our marine, to which the complement of hands is felt, as its greateſt need, ſo ſenſibly wanting; points rather preferable to many of the arts and trades, purely dependent on luxury, and which at once ſoften and unman thoſe who exerciſed them, and thoſe for whoſe ſake they are exerciſed.

What firſt gave riſe to the idea in me, was the obſervation of the wretchedneſs and inſignificance to the defence of a country, of thoſe ſo much envied artiſts, the whole tribes of weavers, callico-ſtainers, and in ſhort all the retainers to the looms of India, whoſe inceſſant and ingenious induſtry never ſcarce extricates them out of the depths of poverty; whilſt it at the ſame time diſqualifies them for any other effectual ſervice, being ſcarcely more of men than the machinery of their fabrics. Whatever advantage is made of their induſtry is entirely engroſſed by the Banyans, Chittys, or head-merchants; men as effeminate as themſelves; and in whoſe coffers, generally ſpeaking, all that money ſtagnates that is not inveſted in the uſurious advances which are ſo hard upon labor, by unconſcionably

confcionably fcrewing down its price; which being their great point in trade, leffens the commendation due to their fpirit of it, lucre being their fole object, and the public good quite out of the queftion.

STILL it will be faid, that fuch manufactures not only hinder the exportation of money, but actually bring it into their country. This is too evidently true to be denied, and fo far they are a commendable advantage, even though fufceptible of being abufed: but furely it is not ultimately a lefs one for the nation that deals with them, or that even furnifhes them with bullion, if fuch a trade is carried on with a moral certainty of an outlet or market for the returns, that will reimburfe it with profit; at the fame time that thefe of its fubjects, who might otherwife be employed in producing the like manufactures at a much dearer rate, fhould, by à found and comprehenfive policy, be diftributed into the many branches in which they are actually wanted, to anfwer much more valuable ends, in the increafe of the protective force of the nation, and of its power to extend its trade, navigation and influence. Such a refervation of fubjects, would be only preferring a greater good to a leffer one, to which it would be far from giving the exclufion; as it is far from implying fo grofs an abfurdity as that of difcouraging home-manufactures, or from meaning any thing more than a juft modification, and choice of them. For in the choice of which to encourage moft lies the great ftrefs of policy, and thefe inconteftibly are thofe claffes of mechanics who give to the crude materials produced by this country, fuch as wool, iron, tin, lead, &c. that additional value of their manual labor, which is fo much net profit to the nation. Imports that interfere with fuch, doubtlefs deferve to be difcouraged, and we fee

ſee that they actually are ſo. But as to thoſe articles appropriate to India, grown into a kind of neceſſaries by cuſtom, and to which the reproach of luxury can only lie in declamation, the revenue might probably find its account as much in even the quantity of their imports being increaſed, as in the exorbitance of the duties on them. If more enlarged and comprehenſive notions were to take place, under the ſanction of proper regulations, the Weſt Indies, and our American colonies, might receive a greater benefit than they do from the Eaſt India trade, ſtill preſerving to England its right and advantage of being the centrical point of union of both. Thus if, by any means or device, the commerce with India could afford an augmentation of its number of ſhipping, the marine of the kingdom would receive a proportionable increaſe, and employ the greater number of hands, inured to the change of climates, and the experter for thoſe voyages of a long run; which would be a far preferable conſideration, to that of their being ſunk in ſuch of the lower and more ſlaviſh branches of the mechanics, as only procuring them a bare livelihood, rob ſpheres of occupation, fitter for freemen and Engliſhmen, of their requiſite number of hands, who in them would be more eſſentially ſerviceable to the ſtate, in the advancement of the live-force, navigation, and truly profitable trade of the kingdom. I ſay truly profitable, becauſe even trade itſelf may be ruinouſly diverſified and extended, if the other principal objects of government are neglected, or even not preferred, and a nation languiſh with faintneſs, amidſt thoſe riches, which ought to procure its ſtrength and happineſs. But this can never be the caſe, if the increaſe of the protective power, which has ſo juſt a right to be ſupported by the revenue from trade, is at the ſame time duly conſulted, and ſo ordered

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as to keep pace with it. No folly being greater than that of exalting the mercantile above the military ſpirit, both being of ſuch mutual benefit, that they ought never to be conſidered in diſtinct views. However, if it was neceſſary to ſacrifice the object of one of them, it undoubtedly ought to be that of trade, which muſt decreaſe in its value in proportion to its decreaſe of ſecurity, and becauſe the ſafety and honor of a nation are points preferable to a momentary profit. But the truth is, that there is no neceſſity of neglecting either, and that it muſt be a wretched policy that does not ſufficiently take care of both, and make both ſerviceable to each other.

The expedience of which management ſtands no where more fully illuſtrated than in the Eaſt-Indies, where it is ſcarce poſſible to carry on a commerce on other than a precarious, diſhonorable, diſadvantageous footing, unleſs a ſtate of force procures a reſpect to, or confidence in our arms; the country-governments of India being conſtitutionally ſuch, as ſcarce ever to neglect occaſions of oppreſſion or plunder, where they have no oppoſition, or vengeance to fear. Nor do they ever ſolidly beſtow their countenance or friendſhip, but where they can depend on a protection in the revolutions, to which it is in the very nature of their deſpotiſm ſo often to expoſe them. The merchants eſpecially prefer dealing with that nation, which they ſee the moſt powerful and able to ſhelter them from the tyranny of their own country-men. Thence their predilection of our government to live under, and to which they are of ſuch notable benefit. As mere traders, the Engliſh would never have got the footing they had, if they had not added to that character the profeſſion of arms both at land and ſea. This is ſo

true, that the ſpecial privileges, fortified ſettlements, and favorable grants obtained from the ſeveral Princes of India, will, conformable to their original dates, appear to have been owing to the figure our nation formerly made there in war, when its victories over the Portugueſe, who ſunk as faſt as we roſe, gave it ſuch a reputation, as that hardly any thing was denied to it; and, to ſay the truth, it is principally on that old foundation, that the extraction of our commerce has ſince ſubſiſted: I ſay principally only, becauſe no doubt our frank, unaffectedly and generous national character, amidſt all the faults of ſome of its ſubjects in power there, I can ſafely aver, without any partiality, alſo once bore in the eyes of the Indians a very favorable compariſon with the ſilly, ſenſeleſs, ſanguinary bigotry of the Portugueſe; with the unſocial dryneſs, imperious conduct, and keenneſs after gain of the Dutch; and the ſuper-refined deſigning politeneſs of the French. And yet the advantages of theſe laſt over us in the affair of Madraſs, did not a little ſhake our eſtimation in thoſe parts, no people being more apt to be dazzled and influenced by ſucceſs than the Orientaliſts, and thoſe of India above all.

The Dutch eſpecially inſult us, in their inſinuations to the country-governments, of our inferiority, in that we are not poſſeſſed of a head place of arms, ſuch as Batavia is to them, from whence our operations might be more timely, and more effectually applied to any exigence, than as there now exiſts a neceſſity for waiting for orders and aids from Europe. They do not conſider, or at leaſt do not add a candid confeſſion of the treacherous and cruel ſupplantment of us, in a time of full peace, in the Spice-iſlands, which are the mines, from whence they draw the means of ſup-

porting the extraordinary charges of that their boaſted capital place in India, a competition with which our trade, circumſtanced as it has been ſince that fatal epoch, could never well afford; though it is impoſſible but it might have gained a much more conſiderable extenſion, if either the ſettlements we actually have, had been better cultivated, uſeful new ones had been formed, or other channels of commerce explored; or if, in ſhort, more attention had not been given to the temptation of momentary profits and preſent dividends, than to the founding of permanent eſtabliſhments upon greater views, but of which the immediate requiſite expence appeared to be as ſo much loſt in the diſtant futurity of the returns. This narrow conſideration it is, which combined with a certain generally prevailing indolence, and the facility of humoring that indolence, ſince the opening of thoſe fatal gulphs, the public funds, which, ſwallowing up the very aliment and ſupport of trade, have ſet up a claſs of men called the moneyed intereſt, to the deſtruction of the commercial one, upon the produce of whoſe ſtock, which itſelf has depauperated, it projects lazily to live; all theſe, I ſay, have more contributed to extinguiſh the antient Engliſh ſpirit of diſcovery and extenſion, than any certainty that could with reaſon be pleaded, of there being nothing further to be found or hoped for from it.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the PROTESTANT MISSION *in* MALABAR.

IN this country is the city of Tranquebar, or Taragu Wadhi, a Daniſh colony, with a fortified caſtle, which Ofre Giedde, a gentleman of that nation, purchaſed of the princes of Tanjaour in 1621; ſince which time it has belonged to the kings of Denmark. The place contains about 5000 ſouls; the greateſt part Pagans, or Papiſts.

THAT good king Frederic IV. of Denmark was touched with concern, that ſo many of his ſubjects ſhould live under heathen darkneſs, and was aſhamed that Proteſtants ſhould be wholly intent on commerce, without the leaſt thought, though obliged in meer gratitude, of the ſalvation of thoſe people, with whom they carried on ſo gainful a traffic. Not that the name Jeſus Chriſt was unknown in Malabar. There were many years ago, on the weſtern coaſt, a very conſiderable number of chriſtians, diſciples of St. Thomas, and of the Syrian communion. We preſume not to fix the time of their converſion; and the Daniſh miſſionaries have proved the famous croſs, pretended to be found near St. Thome, and of which a deſcription was publiſhed in Liſbon, in 1722, an abſolute deception: they have demonſtrated, that the names of the kings Pandijen and Choren, which appear in the inſcription, are more antient than Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe Syrian chriſtians are divided into two communions; and a great part of them were brought over to the Romiſh communion, when the Portugueſe were maſters of Cochin. Near ſeventy churches were united to that of Rome, and their head in thoſe times was called

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Mar-Gabriel: but Mar-Thomas, coming from Antioch, formed a party againſt him, to the peril of his own life; Mar-Gabriel having ſent aſſaſſins to murder him in his own houſe. He was ſucceeded by another Mar-Thomas; and this antient church recovered ſome part of its liberty. They have no veneration for images, and they reject tranſubſtantiation: but have embraced the doctrine of Eutychius.

The metropolitan church of theſe chriſtians was very near Madraſs, on the famous mountain of St. Thomas; whither the chriſtians of the weſtern coaſt travelled to perform their devotions; though it was a dangerous journey of ſixty days. This holy place was lately ſubject to the Portugueſe; and notwithſtanding they were diſpoſſeſſed of their ſettlements on the coaſts of Coromandel, it was the reſidence of a Romiſh biſhop: but the diviſions among his people hindered him from making it his conſtant abode.

Nearer Tranquebar, and in the city of that name, are other chriſtians vaſtly more numerous. It is about one hundred and fifty years ago, that the Romiſh miſſionaries ſettled themſelves in the kingdom of Tanjaour; and Pondicherry was always well ſupplied with French Jeſuits, who applied themſelves to the converſion of the Pagans, under the dominion of France. There are other miſſions in Madura and the Carnatic.

The Portugueſe is the common language of the ſlaves and ſoldiers of the company, who are compoſed of ſuch tawny Portugueſe, deſcended from thoſe firſt conquerors of the Indies, who choſe to ſtay in the country after they were deprived of their fortreſſes by other nations.

The Malabarian language is very difficult for an European. Baldæus and Gedaes have pronounced

nounced it impoſſible to be learnt by one not born in the country. The Romiſh miſſionaries ſeldom enjoin themſelves ſo hard a taſk; and indeed what means are there of learning it? M. Ziegenbalg found but one European, who knew enough of Malabarian to make a tranſlation of it: and there was no book to ſerve him for a guide. There was but one way for him to be inſtructed in it, and that very mortifying for a perſon who had no other views than the ſervice of the goſpel. He made a bargain with a Malabarian ſchoolmaſter, and went and ſeated himſelf among the naked children of the country, who learned to read and write: there he learned to draw in the characters of ſounds, the ſenſe of which was wholly unknown to him; and ſubmitted to the ſame taſks as the ſchool-boys. Such was the ardent zeal of M. Ziegenbalg, that in leſs than a year he attained a perfect knowledge of the Malabarian tongue; and the learned of that country admired the elegance of his diction. After that, in 1708, he applied himſelf to the tranſlation of the Bible, which he finiſhed in 1711, and had it printed at Tranquebar in 1714. He compoſed alſo a Malabarian dictionary of 20,000 words, taken from the poets. As ſoon as he could ſpeak the language, he employed this new talent in the propagation of the chriſtian faith. He reſorted to the Pagan feaſts, to the pagodas, to the conſecrated fiſh-ponds, and wherever theſe Gentiles had their aſſemblies: there he conſulted the Bramins; repreſenting to them the ridiculouſneſs of their religion, and raiſed the admiration of the people, who never heard any man talk like that German prieſt. The principal perſons among the learned, both Pagans and Mahometans, held frequent aſſemblies for regular conferences, and entered into formal diſputations

with him; in which the purity of the chriſtian morals diſplayed itſelf in ſuch a manner, as to affect the moſt barbarous hearts. The Pandarams, the Mahometan prieſts, and the Bramins themſelves, yielded to the force of truth. Mr. Ziegenbalg and Mr. Plutſchau ſoon found, it was an eaſy matter to get the better of them at diſputing; but that their adverſaries had not the leaſt concern in ſuch a victory. Mr. Bourguet, in a remarkable latter addreſſed to Mr. Ziegenbalg, adviſes him to begin with a phyſical demonſtration of the Being of a God. The Pagans are ſufficiently convinced of this point, and beſides, they want not to be confuted, but reformed. Here lies the main difficulty of converſions, and the difference between the labours of the miſſionaries of Rome and of Tranquebar; the Romans aim at nothing but perſuaſion; the Proteſtants endeavour to inſtruct and to render their converts wiſer as well as better.

M. Ziegenbalg, to try another method unknown to the Romiſh miſſionaries, and to which their pride would never condeſcend, propoſed to himſelf the inſtruction of children, whoſe tender hearts were free from prepoſſeſſion, and not to leave them till he had thoroughly ſeaſoned them with the principles of the true religion; for this end, he and his collegue gave public notice, that they would open a free ſchool, where all ſorts of children ſhould be taught reading, writing, and accompts, with other things proper for their age, gratis. The concourſe to theſe ſchools was ſurpriſing: in 1714, there were 21 ſchools in the city and ſuburbs, and the number of children 575, who there received inſtructions. At firſt, while the miſſionaries had none but Pagan aſſiſtants and overſeers, they could teach the children nothing but morality, and choice ſentences taken out of the Bible; which, for their elegance, were acceptable

able to the Heathens themſelves; but at laſt they found means, by degrees, to convince governors of the ſchools, and to convert the children; and to this the eſtabliſhment of the goſpel is principally to be aſcribed. The Malabarians themſelves admired that ſpirit of charity which animated thoſe ſchoolmaſters, and regarded thoſe ſchools as one of their beſt public works.

All nations have their prejudices, and the Malabarians in particular; though not ſo ſtrong as thoſe of the ſouthern people of Europe. They have the ſame reſpect for the antiquity of their religion, the ſame fondneſs for frivolous ceremonies, and the ſame confidence in good works and penances. They have beſides, an extreme repugnance to what they eſteem impurity. The more intelligent perſons among them had nothing to object to the miſſionaries, but the wine which the Europeans drank, the beef which they eat, the confuſion of ſects, and the omiſſion of ceremonial ablutions. Theſe prejudices operate with more force in proportion to the natural indolence of the nation, which hears and anſwers with docility, but ſuffers little or no impreſſion from the force of reaſon.

Travelling in this country is attended with great difficulties. The king of Tanjaour is extremely jealous of every white man who paſſes through his territories. At every village, the toll-gatherers are intolerable in their exactions upon Europeans, and detain them until they obtain their liberty from the court by preſents. Beſides this, the burning ſands, and the heat of the ſun, and the want of food dreſſed after the European manner, are great obſtacles, if not unſurmountable at ſome times: but theſe difficulties could not retard the zeal of the Daniſh miſſionaries, who, in 1707, applied one half of their penſions in erecting a mean church, which was called Jeruſalem; and which has ſince

been rebuilt in a better manner. The other half was dedicated to the ſervice of the ſchools; reſerving only a bare ſubſiſtance for themſelves.

In 1712, there were 117 Malabarian Gentiles added to the chriſtian church, and the number of converts amounted to 221. The labours of Meſſ. Ziegenbalg and Plutſchau were ſoon become famous in Aſia and Europe; and the veneration which theſe apoſtolical perſons attracted from all ranks, procured them aſſiſtances, as powerful as they were unexpected. The king of Denmark ſettled on them 2000 crowns a year, payable from the poſt office, to defray the neceſſary charges of the miſſion; and this ſum was often doubled by extraordinary preſents. The piety of the king diſpoſed him to augment this fund, which was ſo well employed to the advancement of true chriſtianity.

Germany, excited by the accounts publiſhed at Hall, ſince 1709, ſent large ſums towards the ſupport of the miſſion. But the greateſt contributions came from England, which exerted itſelf on the occaſion. Since 1709, the ſociety eſtabliſhed there for the propagation of the goſpel in foreign parts very liberally aſſiſted Mr. Ziegenbalg; and, in 1713, the ſum ſent from England amounted to 1194 l. ſterling, which much exceeded the entire annual revenue for ſome years paſt.

It was indeed very affecting to ſee the proteſtants at laſt awake out of their lethargy. Mr. Plutſchau, who was returned into Europe, had many marks of eſteem conferred upon him, and favours were accumulated upon the Daniſh miſſionaries; who, from that time, almoſt conſtantly took their voyage to the Indies by way of England, and in Engliſh veſſels. Since that time, there has been erected a Portugueſe printing preſs, which was taken by the French forces, commanded

by

by M. du Gue Trouin, when he plundered Rio de Janeiro in 1711, and afterwards purchaſed and ſent to Tranquebar; on which occaſion 250 copies of the New Teſtament in Portugueſe, printed at London, were diſperſed among the Portugueſe in Braſil, who were the firſt of their nation in thoſe parts, that ever had an opportunity of reading the goſpel.

England, from that time, continued powerfully to aſſiſt the miſſionof Tranquebar, and alone ſuſtained the miſſion of Madraſs, and that of St. David. Of late years, thoſe miſſions have been in a more particular manner the object of their charity. Two archbiſhops of Canterbury, Tenniſon and Wake, ſet on foot a collection for this purpoſe: the Univerſity of Cambridge followed the pious example of thoſe prelates, and king George I. honoured the miſſionaries with a letter written with his own hand.

In 1715, was eſtabliſhed at Copenhagen, a ſociety for propagation of faith, which has ſince that time had the particular inſpection of the miſſion. Loaded with honours and the charities of all nations through which he paſſed, Mr. Ziegenbalg, in 1716, returned to Tranquebar, the country deſigned for the laſt ſcene of his devoted life and labours.

At his return things aſſumed a new face: there were two printing preſſes already in the country; for Germany had furniſhed them with one for the uſe of Malabar. The preſſes were employed on an edition of the Bible, and other books deſigned for the converſion of the Gentiles, which were three ſhort treatiſes; one entitled, Letters to the Malabarians; another, The way of ſalvation; and the third, Paganiſm, a ſtate of damnation. The publication of theſe books, and eſpecially the New

Teſtament,

Teſtament, had a ſurpriſing effect. The very Romans themſelves then acted in diſobedience to their prieſts, which they had never done before, and came and aſked for the goſpel, which they had received for the foundation of their faith, without knowing what it was.

M. Ziegenbalg began tranſlating the whole Bible into the Malabarian language, which was not finiſhed before 1725, by Mr. Schulze, who catechiſed the children publicly, to oblige in a manner the Gentiles to hear the goſpel. He eſtabliſhed an excellent order in the exerciſe of piety; and Mr. Stevenſon, an Engliſh miniſter, who paid a viſit to Mr. Ziegenbalg at Tranquebar, ſpeaks with admiration of the decency of divine ſervice, and of the good order which he obſerved in all his miniſterial labours.

The king of Denmark had honoured M. Ziegenbalg with the title of ſuperintendant, which he had hitherto borne among the miſſionaries. Three new aſſiſtants were come to him from Europe, when death carried him off, on the 25th of February 1719, in the 36th year of his age. Mr. Grandler, his faithful aſſiſtant, who had particularly devoted himſelf to the care of the ſchools, ſurvived him but a year, and had only time to leave his orders to Schulze, the oldeſt and moſt active of the three miniſters of the goſpel. The death of thoſe two perſons reduced the miſſion to a very low ſtate, and the new miſſionaries found themſelves in the ſame circumſtances with Meſſrs. Ziegenbalg and Plutſchau, when they firſt entered on their work, being obliged to learn the language, without any other aſſiſtance than what they found in the books of their predeceſſors. The ſchools were diſſolved, becauſe the contract ceaſed between the ſchoolmaſters and the ſurviving miſſionaries,

ſionaries, who could not be comprehended under it. This doctrine of the miſſion laſted ſeveral years, and the number of converts in 1724 amounted but to 28. The number of converts has conſiderably increaſed ſince 1736. There were in all 6252, in the 35 years of the miſſion, ending October 5, 1742, a number of which, without being fabulous or miraculous, muſt however be accounted a conſiderable acquiſition made by the goſpel, and a recompence proportionable to the number and labours of the miſſionaries. Theſe converts live partly at Tranquebar, and the reſt are diſperſed over the kingdom of Tanjaour, where the miſſionaries have formed five dioceſes, or particular diſtricts of the Gentiles.

The miſſion of Tranquebar in 1742, was under the direction of eight miſſionaries, two national prieſts, three catechiſts of the firſt order, beſides thoſe of an inferior rank, with a proportional number of aſſiſtants. The ſchools in the city are in very good order, and conſiſt of near 200 children, maintained at the expence of the miſſion: and new ſchools have been eſtabliſhed in the country of Tanjaour. The Dutch Eaſt India company has done many good things for the propagation of the goſpel: but it is in its power to do ſomething more, without hardly touching thoſe immenſe funds which it poſſeſſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of ſome particular ANIMALS *of* INDIA. *The* ELEPHANT *and* RHINOCEROS. *The* CAMEL, DROMEDARY, *and* CAMELOPARD. *The* LION *and* LIONESS. LEOPARD *and* PANTHER. *The* TYGER. *The* APE.

IT is not in men alone, that the difference of talents and diſpoſitions is remarkable: all nature is full of ſimilar examples. Every climate is not proper for every fruit; happy is that which produces the beſt. It is true, that India is deficient in ſome of the conveniencies of life; but this loſs is amply made up by the great abundance of all that is neceſſary, and of ſeveral things that are peculiar to it, which draw thither all other nations of the world, either to admire its curioſities, or to make a profit of its riches and fertility. For there is none of them, but whom either neceſſity or luxury lead to the Indies: but the Indians themſelves are not obliged to go any where elſe to give proofs of their indigence: they can even boaſt with juſtice, that they have more rarities than all other nations together; of which every one may be convinced, when acquainted with the nature of ſome animals familiar to them, and of the fruits which they gather in the fields.

No other countries in the world but the Indies, and ſome ſouthern provinces in Africa, produce Elephants: but the Indian are much better than the African in quality. This animal, the largeſt, and the moſt extraordinary in its nature, which the earth produces, deſerves to be conſidered in the firſt place. As ſavage of itſelf as the lion or the tyger,

tyger, it muſt be hunted like other wild beaſts; and there formerly were none among the Indians, but the ſhepherds who had that permiſſion. They incloſed, by a large and deep ditch, a plain about a quarter of a league in circumference; where they built a bridge of wood, and hovels into which they might retire; into this incloſure they carried ſome tame female elephants, who drew the wild ones thither in the night-time. As ſoon as they entered, the hunters retired out of their incloſure, drew off the bridge, and went into the neighbouring villages to ſeek for aid. Several days after, when they ſaw the elephants weakened with hunger and thirſt, they returned upon tame elephants, with which they purſued and harraſſed them, until they had exhauſted their force. Then they bridled them, and made inciſions about their mouth, and round their neck, to render them more ſenſible, and ſtop them when they made too violent a motion: afterwards they mounted, and drove them into ſtables by the force of blows.

Notwithstanding the enormous bulk of this animal, being twenty feet in circumference, he is of a docility and ingenuity approaching to the human intelligence. He is ſuſceptible of love, affection and gratitude to ſuch a degree, as to pine away with grief when he has loſt his keeper: he is obſerved to be tranſported with grief, and ready to kill himſelf, when, in a furious moment, he has killed or treated him ill.

To this inſtinct of humanity, the elephant joins an extraordinary force, proportioned to his ſtature, which renders him the ſtrongeſt of all animals. The Indians have always trained them to war, and made them the terror of the enemy, by the ſlaughter which they occaſioned when they gave them the ſignal to advance. This happened by the

ſound

ſound of drums and trumpets, by the ſight of blood already ſpilt, at which they have a horror, or by a view of certain liquors which reſemble it, as the juice of mulberries or grapes. In an inſtant they make a furious aſſault, throw themſelves acroſs the battalions, and carry every where terror, diſorder and death. The ſmell and dreadful bellowing of theſe animals occaſion ſtill more diſorder among the horſes than the men. At the firſt attack, they are ſtruck with terror, they cannot be made to advance; they fall back upon one another, and even throw their riders. Cæſar had but one elephant, when he gave battle to Caſſibelan, king of the Britons, and he alone put the whole army to flight. This was the principal uſe which the Perſians, Syrians, and Romans made of them.

Sometimes they built upon the back of thoſe monſtrous creatures great wooden towers of ſeveral ſtories, upon which the archers mounted, and ſhot in ſafety, having almoſt their whole body under covert. In the battle which Antiochus Eupator gave to Judas Maccabeus, that king of Syria had more than thirty elephants of this kind, on each whereof were thirty-two archers, who ſhot arrows from all ſides; and an Indian who guided them. In the Indies they were ranged in the front of the army, at a hundred paces diſtance the one from the other, where they ſerved as a rampart againſt the enemy, until the moment when they were to be rouſed and united. Porus placed two hundred in the ſame line, when Alexander came to attack him.

This animal is ſixteen or eighteen months in the belly of its mother, after which he comes forth about the bigneſs of a calf. He does not arrive at his full ſtrength, until the age of fifty or ſixty years;

years; it is only then that they can build a tower upon his back. From his nofe there hangs a mafs of long and hollow flefh, which they call his trunk, and fometimes his hand, becaufe it is of infinite fervice to him whether for feats of advantage, or of ftrength: he makes ufe of it to carry things to his mouth; from that arife two teeth, or prodigious tufks, which grow to fix feet in length, from whence we have our ivory. As if this animal was acquainted with their value, or apprehended being killed on their account, he hides them in the earth whenever they fall from him through age, or any other accident. The fkin upon his back is like a thick buckram, or rather a fuit of armour, which can fcarce be cut through; but under his belly it is much thinner.

Their ordinary food is grafs or corn; but they are very fond of fweets, fuch as barley-fugar, and this is given to tame them. They make thofe whom they defign for war drink the wine of the country, that is a kind of beer: but others who are weaker, and ufed for labour, drink only water, which they love beft when it is muddy. They are fubject to different diftempers, of which the Indians know the remedies; and this makes that animal live two or three hundred years. Apollonius Tyaneus, or Damis, related that they had feen in the city of Taxila, the elephant of the famous Porus, with two circles of gold round his tufks, in which it was written, in Greek characters, that Alexander, in efteem of him, had confecrated him to the Sun. At the fame time he muft have been above four hundred years old. But their too great love for the marvellous renders this fufpected.

The Rhinoceros, called by the modern Indians Abadu, comes very near the elephant in bulk and figure.

figure. This creature is chiefly found in the iſland of Java; but is common enough in the kingdoms of Bengal and Patna. The ancients have frequently mentioned this animal, but without giving an exact deſcription of it.

We muſt then have recourſe to the moderns for a knowledge of this extraordinary animal. Bontius and Father le Compte, who had examined it ſeveral times, ſpeak of it pretty much in the ſame manner. Here follow the words of the miſſionary. The Rhinoceros is one of the moſt extraordinary animals in the world. He is ſomewhat like the wild boar, if it was not that he is much larger, that his feet are thicker, and his body more unwieldy. His ſkin is all over covered with large and thick ſcales of a blackiſh colour, and an uncommon hardneſs. They are divided into ſmall ſquares or buttons, raiſed a little above the ſkin, and nearly like thoſe of the crocodile. His legs appear to be ſet in boots, and his head wrapt up behind in a ſmooth capuchin, which has given occaſion to the Portugueſe, to call him an Indian monk. His head is large; his mouth little; and his ſnout down to a great length, and armed with a long thick horn, which makes him terrible to the tygers, buffaloes, and elephants. But what appears moſt wonderful in this animal is his tongue, which Nature has covered with ſo rough a membrane, that it is not at all different from a file, and flays every thing which he licks. As we have animals in Europe that make a grateful repaſt on thiſtles, whoſe ſmall points agreeably ſtimulate the fibres or the nerves in their tongue; ſo the rhinoceros eats with pleaſure the branches of trees briſtled all over with the largeſt thorns. We are told by ſome travellers, that they have frequently given him of theſe, whoſe points were very rough and

and long, and it was wonderful to ſee with what greedineſs and dexterity he immediately licked them up, and chewed them in his mouth without the leaſt inconvenience. It is true, it was ſometimes a little bloody, but that even rendered the taſte more agreeable, and theſe little wounds to appearance made no other impreſſion on his tongue than ſalt and pepper make on ours." The author might have added, that this animal has two kinds of wings of a ſkin extremely ugly, which cover his belly like a houſing, and in ſhape reſembling the wings of a bat.

Though the reſt of his body is in a manner wrapt up in armour, and thoſe who attack him are expoſed to great danger; yet the Indians hunt him as they do other animals, becauſe he is of great uſe to them after his death. The Moors eat his fleſh, however hard it may be. His horn is not leſs curious than uſeful: when it is cut through the middle, on each ſide is ſeen the figure of a man, whoſe outlines are marked by little white ſtrokes, with thoſe of different birds and other things, as in the Egyptian flints. The greateſt part of the Indian princes drink out of cups made of this horn, becauſe they ſay, it ſweats at the approach of any poiſon whatſoever. The people of Java likewiſe ſet a great value on this animal, becauſe there is no part but is found in ſome degree uſeful in medicine. They make uſe of its fleſh, horn, blood, teeth, ſkin, and even its excrements. They are perſuaded there cannot be a better antidote againſt all kinds of poiſon, and they attribute to it the qualities which the ancients did to the Unicorn. Frequently they make bucklers of its ſkin with its ſcales.

The camel and the dromedary perform to the Indians, and the greateſt part of the eaſtern nations,

the ſame ſervices which we receive from beaſts of burden, with this difference, that they will carry a thouſand weight and above, and go fifty leagues in a day without being fatigued; but they are not fit to draw carriages.

The camel is naturally fearful, inſupportable to the horſe on account of his bad ſmell, and ſuffers himſelf to be devoured by the lion and the tyger without the leaſt reſiſtance. We are aſſured he lives a century, if no accident happens to him. He has no teeth, except in his lower jaw; and he differs from the dromedary in this, that he has only one bunch on his back, and the dromedary two, diſpoſed lengthways.

The Camelopard is not ſo well known. It does not reſemble the camel, whoſe name the ancients had given it, but in the head and the manner of carrying it, bearing it in a bolder and more upright manner. His ſkin is reddiſh ſpotted with white, or white with ſpots of red; and his ſize bigger or leſs, pretty near that of a fine horſe; but he is very ſlender about the loins, ſomewhat like the ape.

The Indians, according to the ancients, had even the art of taming the lion, and making him hunt like a dog, or to draw like a horſe. His ſtrength, his courage, and majeſty have occaſioned him to be called the king of beaſts: and indeed he uſes them as a demeſne appertaining to him, having no other food. All of them reſpect him; all tremble before him; "but I know not by what inſtinct, ſays Ælian, he himſelf trembles before the cock and the elephant." He never attacks a man, ſays Pliny, but when old age prevents his overtaking other prey. It is then he draws near to cities, devouring thoſe he finds in the fields. Sometimes the ſenſe of his weakneſs incites him to join with others,

others, to afford each mutual aid; and this union becomes ſo much the more dangerous, that one cannot be attacked without engaging the reſt which are in full ſtrength. At other times he is not daunted at the moſt formidable hunter, whom he views with confidence and fierceneſs. He receives his firſt attack; he beats the ground with his tail, laſhing his ſides, and thus by degrees kindles that fury which has no example, and to which the moſt violent tranſports of paſſion may be compared. As there are always many engaged againſt him, he examines with attention from what hand thoſe arrows are ſent which wound him, whom he diſtinguiſhes from thoſe who only flouriſh their weapons, or miſs him. He fixes chiefly on thoſe who have ſtruck him; and if he can lay hold of them, tears them in pieces; but his vengeance is ſatisfied with overturning the others, and toſſing them about. The lioneſs is not ſo diſtinguiſhing in her fury: as ſenſible to the loſs of her young as to her own wounds, ſhe, with her head to the ground, her eyes fixed upon thoſe who would raviſh them from her, never fails to ſave them, or to periſh in their defence. That which Ælian and other naturaliſts relate of the fertility of this animal is peculiar to itſelf. They ſay ſhe brings forth but five times; the firſt time ſhe has five young ones; the ſecond four; the third time three; the fourth no more than two; and the laſt time only one. Sometimes ſhe couples with the leopard, and they diſtinguiſh the lions that proceed from thence, by their not having ſo fine a mane as thoſe of the genuine ſpecies. Both the one and the other are much afraid of fire: ſome of them are white and ſome tawny.

The leopard and panther, according to Pliny, Ælian, and others, are the male and female of the

ſame ſpecies. Although this creature is not ſo large as the lion, he is not leſs cruel and dangerous when attacked; but ſeldom invades man firſt; yet the Indians deſpiſe his fury, and know how to profit by it. They hunt him among other wild beaſts; they eat his fleſh, and preſerve his young ones. When they have tamed and familiariſed them, they preſent them to the king, or keep them to make uſe of them in hunting. The leopard is naturally adapted to it, and carries that about him which attracts his prey. So ſweet an odor exhales from his body, that the roe-bucks and does are charmed with it, and approach him without knowing their danger: but as the ſight of his head terrifies them, and as they betake themſelves to flight the inſtant they perceive it, he has the cunning to conceal it under the leaves of trees, and makes not the leaſt motion till they are ſo near, that he can unexpectedly ſpring upon them. This kind of hunting is ſtill in uſe among the Indians; though permitted to none but the king.

It is pretended, that while the panther has young, the leopard dares not defend himſelf againſt her, although much the ſtronger, and that ſhe makes him ſuffer every kind of abuſe. Becauſe this animal loves wine, ſays Appian, the ancients have looked upon it as a ſymbol and attendant of Bacchus.

All theſe animals are as frequent in Arabia and Lybia as in the Indies: but it is here chiefly that the tyger is found, whoſe very name recals the idea of fierceneſs. In order to take them, the ſhepherds or hunters watch the moment when the mother is gone to ſeek food for her young, and carry them off. But when ſhe returns, and finds them not, ſhe becomes furious; ſhe traces them by the ſmell, and runs with incredible ſwiftneſs till ſhe has

has overtaken the Indians, who fly before her on the fleeteſt horſes. When ſhe comes near, they drop one of her young, which ſhe takes between her teeth and carries back to her den: the hope of recovering the reſt in the ſame manner, inſpires her with ardor, and cauſes her to return with greater alacrity. But the hunters have boats prepared on the banks of a river, and thus eſcape her fury. They tame the young ones, and make the ſame uſe of them as thoſe of the panther.

It were almoſt needleſs to ſpeak of the ape, unleſs it were to take notice, that he has his origin chiefly from the Indies. They are ſeen in that country of all colours and of all kinds; grey, red, white and black; and ſome have been brought into Europe larger than an ordinary dog, whoſe faces were of a perfect azure color.

Their attachment to one another is perhaps without example, among other animals; and we may judge of it by a ſingular inſtance which Tavernier relates. "Returning from Agra with the Engliſh preſident, who was going to Surat, about four or five leagues from Amenabad, we paſſed thro' a little foreſt of the trees called Mangoes. We ſaw a good number of large apes, male and female, many of the laſt holding their young ones between their arms. We were each of us in our chariot, and the Engliſh preſident ſtopt to tell me, that he had a fine fowling-piece; and knowing that I was a good markſman, begged of me to try it on one of thoſe animals. One of my ſervants, who was of the country, having made me a ſign not to hazard it, I endeavored to diſſuade the preſident from his deſign. But in ſpite of all I could ſay, he ſhot and killed a female ape, which hung among the branches, letting her young ones fall to the ground. What my ſervant had foreſeen came to paſs im-

mediately, all the apes who were on the trees, to the number of more than ſixty, deſcended immediately in a fury, and fell upon the preſident's coach, whom they would have ſtrangled, had it not been for the ready aſſiſtance afforded him by ſhutting the doors, and ſetting all our domeſtics to drive them away; although they came not near me yet I was afraid of the fury of theſe animals, who were ſtrong and large: they purſued the preſident's coach near a league, ſo much were they enraged."

Mr. Eyre, who was chief of Patna in 1750, met with a ſimilar accident, as he was going through a wood near the Ganges, with a guard, and many others in company. They ſaw a great number of large apes among the trees, chattering and making a loud and menacing noiſe: one of the ſoldiers fired and killed a large ape; upon which ſome apes ran and lamented over it, while others advanced, as if they would attack the deſtroyers; but another fire made them diſperſe.

CHAP. V.

A description of the country of TRANQUEBAR. *Of the coins, money of accompt, weights, and measures of* INDIA. *With a list of our* EAST-INDIA *company's present forts and factories.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the simplicity and rudeness of their tools, the Malabarians are very good mechanics, as may be seen by their fine painted chints. Here a joiner is likewise a carpenter and turner, and in all these trades he only uses a kind of a very imperfect hatchet, a wimble, hammer and plane. As there are no European mechanics in the colonies, the natives do all the work, and much cheaper than the Europeans could do it.

THEY have their sciences, as well as we; and will not be persuaded they were ever known to the Europeans. They are great admirers of physic, so that the Romish catechists have a general passport, by applying themselves to this science; and such has been their success, that the late Mr. Grundler has given us an entire system of it; and in a great measure we owe to their labours the magnificent garden of Malabar, a description of which is published by M. de Rheeden; a work no less remarkable for the exactness of the figures drawn by the natives, than for the number of the plates.

THEIR physic consists in the knowledge of their plants, and how to use them in prescriptions, which their physicians learn by observation, or have transmitted to them by their ancestors. Yet they do not neglect cultivating chymistry; for they use several calcined stones, or powders; and they even give into alchymy. And their fondness for

it is ſurpriſing, conſidering that fuel is very ſcarce, and that cow-dung cannot produce that degree of heat neceſſary for the fuſion of metals. Their phyſicians are not in ſo great eſteem as thoſe of the miſſion. The great people in the Indies never fail, when they can have an European phyſician, to prefer him to their own; even the Mogul employed a ſurgeon, who came to Dehli in the retinue of an envoy, from the Engliſh Eaſt-India company.

THESE people compoſe verſes; at leaſt the miſſionaries call ſuch as make them poets; but the Daniſh miſſionary could not find a rhyme or meaſure in the ſpecimens publiſhed in the Tranquebar relations; for their language does not ſeem adapted to poetry: they themſelves affirm that it is copious, clear, regular, and formed upon conſiſtent, and even upon eaſy rules. They are fond of the repetitions of Patta, and Kappa, which ſeem diſagreeable to Europeans; and their words, eſpecially thoſe called poetical, are of a length unknown in other languages.

THE ſtudy of the ſciences is not ſo common among the Malabarians. Scarcely one in ten thouſand can read and write his own language with accuracy; this being a hard ſtudy, requiring ſix years application, and the pronounciation very difficult. M. *Ziegenbalg*, whom the moſt learned Pandarams admired for the purity with which he ſpoke their language, has left to his ſucceſſors a great number of faults to be corrected. He wrote d for t, and tch where it ought to be ch, or ſ. There are two letters in particular, that can hardly be decyphered to foreigners; the one which M. Ziegenbalg wrote rh, is pronounced almoſt as rch or even ch: but Europeans pronounce it as an l. For inſtance, Piliacatta, inſtead of Parhejakadhu;

kadhu; the other is expreſſed by dh, and is rather an r: the ſame river being written Collarum, by M. la Croze, and Collodham by Mr. Ziegenbalg.

Their knowledge of phyſics is very groſs, as appears from their anatomy laid down in the Wedam, which is altogether in manner of the Egyptians. Bruhma reſides in the brain; Pulejar in the arteries of the hip; Wirchtnou about the navel, and Ruttiren about the heart. They reckon a great number of metals; but they have not learned the art to ſeparate heterogeneous ſubſtances, which are not malleable. They have two very ſingular metals; one the genuine Tambac, a kind of copper preferred even to gold; the other a ſounding metal, conſiſting of two parts of tin, and eight parts of copper, of which they make their kitchen utenſils. Their hiſtory goes back an incredible number of years. In fabulous hiſtory they are well verſed; but their knowledge is very deficient as to modern and true hiſtory; it hardly reaches to the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, as no author among them has taken the pains to leave to poſterity a true account of his own times. They tell us of Darma, Choren, Pandijen, and other kings, who were before the æra of the world; but they know not the names of thoſe princes who reigned three centuries ago.

The Malabarians pretend they have profeſſors who teach ethics, logic, rhetoric, geography, politics, mathematics, muſic and geometry; at leaſt they have names for all theſe ſciences: however, their profeſſors make but a poor figure, if we may judge by the wretched ſpecimens in their Wedam, or ſacred books. They do not ſucceed but in ſuch ſciences as depend ſolely on the laws of nature, implanted in the minds of all nations.

Of

Of the coins, monies of accompt, weights, and meafures of India.

1. Coins. The principal, and thofe moft generally current on the continent of India, and its iflands, are the pagoda, rupee, and fanam, both of gold and filver. They have alfo feveral little pieces of copper money, among which is the peca or pice.

At Surat, 16 pices make the ana of $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. fterling; and 4 anas make a rupee of 2s. 6d. fterling.

At Bombay, 72 pices make the rupee of 2s. 6d. fterling.

At Goa, the xeraphim is worth 240 Portugal reas, or about 16 d. fterling; 2 reas make a bafaraco, 15 bafaracos a vintin, 42 vintins a tangus, 4 tangus a paru, $2\frac{1}{2}$ parues a pagoda of gold, or between 3 and 4 l. fterling.

At Carwar, 6 pices make the juttal, and 48 juttals a pagoda.

At Tellicherry and Calicut, 16 vifims make a fanam, $4\frac{1}{2}$ fanams of Calicut, and 5 of Tellicherry, make a rupee of 2s. 6d. fterling.

At Anjengo, and other parts of the Malabar coaft, 16 vifims make a fanam, and $5\frac{3}{4}$ fanams make a rupee of 2s. 6d. fterling.

At Madrafs, and other parts of the coaft of Coromandel, 80 cafches make a fanam, or 3d. fterling; and 36 fanams a filver pagoda, or 7s. 8d. fterling.

In Bengal, 12 pices make the ana, or $\frac{17}{8}$ d. fterling; and 16 anas the rupee of 2s. 6d. fterling.

At Bencoolen, in the ifland of Sumatra, a fettalee is worth $7\frac{1}{2}$d. fterling; 2 fettalees make 1 focoo, or 1s. 3d. fterling; and 4 focoos make 1 real, or 5s. fterling.

But

But there are three kinds of ſilver rupees current in India: the rupees ſiccas worth 2s. 11d. ſterling at Bengal; the rupees of Surat, worth 2s. 3d. ſterling; and the rupees of Madraſs, worth 2s. 6d. ſterling: which is to be underſtood of the new rupees, as the old ones of each kind are leſs in value; thoſe of Madraſs being but 1s. 11d. ſterling, thoſe of Surat 2s. and the ſiccas 2s. 4d.

2. Monies of accompt. At Surat, Agra, and ſome other cities of the Great Mogul, they uſe lacks or lacres; implying a hundred thouſand: thus a lack of rupees is one hundred thouſand rupees.

Throughout Malabar, and at Goa, they uſe tangas, vintins, and pardos xeraphin. The tanga is of two kinds, good and bad alloy: hence their cuſtom is to count by good or bad money; the tanga of good alloy being 1-5th better than the bad; ſo that 4 tangas good being allowed the pardos xeraphin, there will be required 5 of the bad; 4 vintins good make a tanga likewiſe good; 15 baruccos a vintin; the good barucco equal to a Portugueſe ree, or 1-13th of a penny ſterling.

3. Weights. At Agra, their weights for gold, ſilver, muſks, civets, and other valuable articles, are called the troll, which is 12 maſſes; and the maſs contains 40lb. For other commodities their common weight is the ſeer, which varies in ſeveral parts of Indoſtan: in Agra it is of two kinds, the one 26 pices, which is 26$\frac{1}{3}$ ounces; and the other is 30 pices. They have alſo hundred weights called maunds, 14 ſeers to a maund, being 33lb. Engliſh: the maund weighs 69lb. avoirdupois; but the maund they weigh their indicos with is only 53lb.

At Goa, their weight for ſpices is the Bahar; it weighs 3$\frac{1}{2}$ quintals Portugal weight. Their

other

other weights for ſugar, honey, &c. is the maund of 14lb.

At Bombay, 15 pice is one ſeer; 40 ſeers is 1 maund, or 28lb. 20 maunds is 1 candy, and 1 pucca maund is $74\frac{2}{3}$ lb.

At Surat, 40 ſeer is 1 maund, or $37\frac{1}{3}$lb. and 20 maund, is 1 candy, or $6\frac{2}{3}$ C.

At Anjengo, 80 pullums is 1 telong, or 16 lb; and 35 telongs is 1 candy, or 560 lb.

At Callicut and Tellicherry, 20 maunds of $29\frac{3}{4}$lb. is 1 candy.

At Carwar, 25 pice is 1 ſeer, 40 ſeers is 1 maund, or $25\frac{3}{4}$ lb. and 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 515 lb.

Along the coaſt of Coromandel, 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 500 lb. Engliſh, and a maund is 40 ſeers of 22 maces, or 25lb. Engliſh. But at Madraſs, 25lb. is 1 maund, and 20 maunds is 1 candy, or 500 lb.

In Bengal, 20 pice is 1 ſeer, 40 ſeers is 1 maund of 75lb. 20 maunds of 25lb. each, 1 candy, 80 couries 1 pun, and 16 pun 1 cahaun.

At Bencoolen, a bahar is 560 lb.

4. Measures. At Surat, the covid for ſilk and linen is 1 yard Engliſh.

At Bombay, 5 pecks is a parah, and 25 parahs a morah of uncertain meaſure.

At Madraſs, 3 pints make a meaſure, 8 meaſures a mereal, 5 mereals a parac, and 80 paracs a griſe of uncertain meaſure; but 1 gorge is 20 pices, and a covid $\frac{1}{2}$ a yard.

At Bengal, the covid is the ſame as at Surat and Madraſs.

At Bencoolen, 1 bamboo is an Engliſh gallon.

The liſt of the Engliſh company's forts and factories.

In the viceroyalty of Bengal, to which are, or ought to be ſubject, the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa: Fort

FORT WILLIAM, in the city of Calcutta. Is the preſidency, or chief ſettlement of the company, in the viceroyalty, and ſtands upon the eaſt ſide of the right branch of the river Ganges.

MOORSHEDABAD, or Muxadabad, is the uſual reſidence of the viceroy, or Subah, ſituated between the two branches of the Ganges, about 60 miles below, where the river divides itſelf into two branches.

PATNA. The chief market for ſaltpetre, ſtands upon the ſame river, about 150 miles above where it divides itſelf.

DACCA, or Daka. Stands upon the eaſt ſide of the left branch of the ſaid river, about 60 miles above its mouth, or influx into the bay of Bengal.

LUCKIPORE, or Juckidore. An inland factory in Bengal.

BULRAMGURRY, or Balaſor. In Orixa, near the mouth of the river Ganga, a famous road, where ſhips bound up the Ganges uſually take in their pilots.

NEGRAIS. A little iſland, near Negrais Point, on the coaſt of the kingdom of Pegu, and eaſt ſide of the bay of Bengal, under the ſaid preſidency at Fort William.

IN the viceroyalty of the Deckan, to which are, or ought to be ſubject, the provinces of Golconda, the Carnatic, Malabar, and, in ſhort, the greateſt part of the large peninſula, lying between the two famous rivers, Ganges and Indus.

AND, Firſt, upon the eaſt ſide of the ſaid peninſula, commonly called the coaſt of Coromandel, all under the direction of the preſidency at Madraſs:

VISAGAPATNAM. Upon the ſaid coaſt, and on the frontier between Golconda and Orixa.

MASULIPATNAM. A city upon the ſame coaſt, farther ſouth.

FORT

Fort St. George, in the city of Madrafs. Is the prefidency upon the fame coaft.

Arcot. An inland city, weft of Madrafs.

Wandivash. An inland place, fouth of Arcot.

Carangoly. A coaft town.

Alamparva. A coaft town, about 60 miles fouth of Madrafs.

Permacoil, or Perumal. An inland city, well fortified in the Indian manner, weft of the former.

Fort St. David's, demolifhed by the French.

Davecotah. A coaft town, fouth of St. David's.

Carical. A French fettlement reduced by us.

Secondly, Upon the weft fide of the faid peninfula, commonly called the Malabar coaft, all under the direction of the prefidency of Bombay:

Anjengo. About 35 miles north of Cape Comorin, at the fouth end of the faid peninfula.

Tellicherry. Near 200 miles north of the former, and a little to the north of Calicut.

Onor. About the fame diftance north of Calicut.

Carwar. About 40 miles fouth of Goa, the Portuguefe chief fettlement.

Bombay. An ifland upon the northern part of this coaft, ftrongly fortified, and wholly poffeffed by us.

Scindy, or Tatta. Near the mouth of the Indus, called Sindi, by the natives.

In the large ifland of Sumatra. Fort Marlborough, upon the fouth-weft coaft, and near the fouth-eaft end of the ifland; a prefidency under whofe direction are all the factories on this ifland, but the fort was lately demolifhed, and the factory plundered, by the French.

Moccomogo. Upon the fame coaft, about 100 miles to the north-weft of the former.

Nat-

Nattal, Tapanooly. Both upon the ſame coaſt, but further to the north-weſt.

Upon the ſouth coaſt of China. Canton. Is, at preſent, the only port of China frequented by European ſhips.

Gombroon. At the mouth of the gulph of Baſſora, in Perſia.

Mocho. On the Red Sea, in Arabia, near the Strait of Babelmandel.

St. Helena. An iſland, in the middle of the Ethiopian ſea, and many leagues from any land, ſtrongly fortified, and wholly poſſeſſed by us.

CHAP. VI.

Of the principal Companies *in* Europe *trading to* India.

THE trade to the Eaſt Indies was long carried on by the Iſraelites through the Red Sea and the Streights of Babelmandel, not only to the coaſts of Africa on the weſt; but alſo to thoſe of Arabia, Perſia, and India on the Eaſt; who reaped a prodigious profit thereby. King David was the firſt who begun it; for having conquered the kingdom of Edom, and reduced it to be a province of his empire, he thereby became maſter of two ſea-port towns on the Red Sea, Elath, and Ezion-geber, which then belonged to that kingdom; and ſeeing the advantage that might be made of theſe two places, he wiſely took the benefit of it, and there begun this traffic. After David, Solomon carried on the ſame commerce to Ophir, and had from thence, in one voyage, four hundred and fifty talents of gold. But the uſe of the compaſs being then

then unknown, the way of navigation was in thofe times only by coafting, whereby a voyage was frequently of three years, which now may be finifhed almoft in three months. However, this trade fo far fucceeded, and grew to fo high a pitch under Solomon, that thereby he drew to thefe two ports, and from thence to Jerufalem, all the trade of Africa, Arabia, Perfia, and India, which was the chief fountain of thofe immenfe riches he acquired, and whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time, as much as by his wifdom: but at length, the whole of this trade was engroffed by the Tyrians; who managing it from the fame port, made it by the way of Rhinocorura, a fea-port, lying between the confines of Egypt and Paleftine; fo that it centered all at Tyre; from whence all the weftern parts of the world were furnifhed with the wares of India, Africa, Perfia, and Arabia, which thus, by the way of the Red Sea, the Tyrians traded to; who hereby exceedingly enriched themfelves during the Perfian empire, under the favor and protection of whofe kings they had the full poffeffion of this trade. But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt, they, by building Bernice, Myos-Hermos, and other places on the Egyptian or weftern fea, and by fending forth fleets from thence to all thofe countries to which the Tyrians traded, foon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at Alexandria, which was thereby made the greateft mart in all the world; where it continued for a great many years after; all the marine traffic which the weftern parts of the world had with Perfia, India, Arabia, and to the eaftern coaft of Africa, being wholly carried on through the Red Sea, and the mouth of the Nile, until a way was found, about 280 years fince, of

failing

ſailing to thoſe parts by the way of the Cape of Good Hope: after which the Portugueſe managed this trade; but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the Engliſh, French and Dutch.

The English East India company. The united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt-Indies, is the moſt conſiderable and floriſhing company of trade in Great-Britain, and perhaps in Europe, for riches, power, and extenſive privileges; as appears by the many ſhips of burthen which they conſtantly employ; the very advantageous ſettlements they have abroad; their large ſtorehouſes and ſales of goods and merchandizes at home; and the particular laws and ſtatutes made in their favor.

This company was originally formed in the laſt years of queen Elizabeth, who granted letters patent to the London merchants, that entered into an aſſociation for carrying on this trade; and the charter which ſhe granted them in 1599, has ſerved as a model for all thoſe the company has obtained from her royal ſucceſſors.

The Portugueſe and Dutch were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral large territories along the coaſts of India, before this time; as alſo in ſeveral other parts of Aſia, proper for the proſecution of this trade. The former, indeed, had no company, which is ſtill the caſe: but the latter had formed ſeveral companies ſo early as the year 1596, which were afterwards incorporated together.

The firſt fleet the Engliſh ſent to the Eaſt-Indies conſiſted of four ſhips, which ſet ſail in 1600, with Mr. John Mildenhal, who was employed as an agent to procure a trade, and carried a letter from queen Elizabeth to the Great Mogul, in behalf of her ſubjects: which ſhips returned ſo richly laden, that in a few years near twenty others were ſent there by the company.

 After

After the death of queen Elizabeth, king James the First confirmed and augmented, by a new charter, all the privileges that had been granted the company in the preceding reign: and, to ſhew how much he had at heart this eſtabliſhment, he ſent ambaſſadors in 1608 and 1615 to the Mogul, the emperor of Japan, the king of Perſia, and ſeveral other eaſtern princes, to conclude, in his name and that of the company, different treaties of commerce, of which ſome are ſtill ſubſiſting.

It is well known how many privileges the king of Perſia granted the Engliſh company, for aſſiſting him in the expulſion of the Portugueſe from Ormus; who made uſe of that famous iſland, and its almoſt impregnable forts, as a citadel, to ſupport them in the uſurpation of the commerce of the Perſian Gulph, which they engroſſed for almoſt an age to themſelves.

The company's charter was renewed by king Charles the Second in 1662, whereby that monarch granted them abundance of privileges they had not before enjoyed; which charter is properly the baſis of the company, and was afterwards confirmed by king James the Second: however, there were charters of king Charles the Second, whereby the company were granted ſome new privileges.

The firſt was dated the 3d of April 1662, containing a confirmation of the former charters; or, it is rather a new one, which attributes to the company ſeveral rights it had not as yet enjoyed; and adds to, or ſets forth in a proper light, almoſt all thoſe granted to it by the charters of Elizabeth and James the Firſt, which will be more amply ſpoken of in the ſequel; becauſe it is properly the baſis of all the commerce of this company; and becauſe upon this charter are founded all the privileges

leges and policy of the company eſtabliſhed in 1698.

The ſecond charter granted by Charles the Second, was dated the 27th of March 1669, whereby his Majeſty made a ceſſion to the company of the iſland of Bombay, with all its royalties, revenues, rents, caſtles, ſhips, fortifications, and enfranchiſements: ſuch as then belonged to him by the ceſſion of his Portugueſe Majeſty, reſerving only to himſelf the ſovereignty, to be held in fee from the royal hoſpital of Greenwich, in the county of Kent; and for all duty, rent, or ſervice, the ſum of 10l. ſterling in gold, payable yearly on the 30th of September, at the cuſtom-houſe of London.

By the third charter, of the 16th of December 1674, the king likewiſe made a ceſſion to the company of the iſland of St. Helena, as belonging to him by right of conqueſt. This iſland, which afterwards ſerved as a ſtaple to the company's ſhipping, was diſcovered by the Portugueſe in their firſt navigations to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope; but having abandoned it, the iſland was poſſeſſed by the Dutch; who quitted it in their turn to eſtabliſh themſelves at the Cape of Good Hope, and were ſucceeded by the Engliſh, who were expelled in 1672 by the Dutch company: but captain Monday, who commanded a Britiſh ſquadron, retook it the year following; and this was the right of conqueſt that Charles the Second made a ceſſion of to the company by the charter of 1674. The fourth charter the company obtained from this monarch orders the erection of a court of judicature, compoſed of a civilian and two merchants, in all the factories and places poſſeſſed throughout the extent of its conceſſion, to judge of all caſes in ſeizures, and conteſtations, with regard to ſhips or goods going to the Indies, con-

trary to the exclufive privilege granted by the letters-patent of 1662; as alfo to take cognizance of all caufes regarding merchandife, marine, navigation, purchafes, fales, exchange, infurance, letters of exchange, and other things; even of all crimes and mifdemeanors committed at fea, or in the countries, ftates and territories belonging to the company; the whole, notwithftanding, purfuant to the ufages and cuftoms of merchants, and the laws of England.

These four charters were afterwards confirmed by James the Second, by a charter granted in the firft year of his reign: but the charter of 1662 was the principal, and confifted of 28 articles, whereof the moft material are as follow.

By the firft his majefty erects the company into a corporation, or body politic, under the denomination of the governor and company of merchants trading to the Eaft-Indies.

The third grants it a common feal to ferve in all its expeditions; with a power of breaking and changing it at pleafure, and of making and engraving a new one.

The fourth eftablifhes a governor, and 24 affiftants, chofe out of the proprietors, or ftock-holders, of the company, to have the direction of affairs, and to give all neceffary orders with regard to the freighting and fending away of fhips, together with all particulars belonging to the commerce carried on throughout the extent of its conceffion.

The fifth, fixth, feventh, eighth, and ninth, nominate, for the firft time, the governor and directors; and regulate for the future, the form to be obferved in the election of the faid governor and directors, and a deputy-governor, or fub-governor, to prefide in the abfence, or in cafe of the governor's death. They alfo ordain before

whom

whom the elected ſhall be obliged to make oath, and what this oath is to be; laſtly, they fix the time that all theſe officers are to continue in their poſt; and when the general courts of the company are to be held.

The tenth article fixes the extent of the conceſſion, and allows all thoſe that ſhall be of the company, their ſons of one and twenty years of age, their apprentices, factors, and domeſtics, to trade and negotiate freely by ſea in all the routes and paſſages already diſcovered, or that ſhall be ſo hereafter, in Aſia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope, as far as the ſtreights of Magellan; and where any commerce can be exerciſed, ſo that it is before-hand concluded on by the company; and ſo that alſo the ſaid commerce is not carried on in the places already poſſeſſed by the ſubjects of ſome other prince.

The eleventh article empowers the company to enact all the laws and regulations it ſhall judge proper, to be obſerved by its factors, captains, maſters of ſhips, and other officers in its ſervice; to revoke them and make new ones; and, in caſe of contravention with regard to the ſaid laws, to ordain for offenders ſuch penalties, fines and puniſhments, as it ſhall judge to be juſt and reaſonable, without being accountable to any one whatſoever, not even to his majeſty's officers; provided that the ſaid laws, and regulations, are not contrary to thoſe in England.

By the twelfth, his majeſty wills, that for all the duties and cuſtoms, on goods coming from the Eaſt Indies in the company's ſhips, a whole year ſhall be allowed for their intire payment; that is, ſix months for the firſt moiety, and ſix months for the other, by giving notwithſtanding a ſufficient ſecurity; which ſhall hold good alſo for the

goods exported from England for the Eaſt Indies, which goods ſhall pay no duty, if loſt, before their arrival at the place of their deſtination; and, in caſe any duties are paid, a reſtitution ſhall be made, on the company making affidavit before the Lord High Treaſurer of the kingdom, of the amount of the ſaid loſs; provided that if the goods imported be exported again in the ſpace of 13 months, no duties ſhall be paid for ſuch export, if it be done aboard Britiſh veſſels.

The thirteenth article allows the exportation of foreign ſpecie out of the kingdom, to be employed in the commerce of the company; and even thoſe of England coined in the Tower of London, provided that the total ſum exceeds not 50,000 l. ſterling in each year.

By the fourteenth and fifteenth the company is allowed to have ſix large veſſels, and ſix pinks, laden and equipped with all kinds of ammunition and proviſion, together with 500 good Engliſh ſailors, to ſupport its commerce throughout the whole extent of its conceſſion; whereon his majeſty cannot lay an imbargo upon any pretext whatſoever, unleſs he cannot abſolutely do without the ſaid veſſels in ſome preſſing and unforeſeen want in time of war to augment his fleet.

The ſixteenth grants to the company an excluſive privilege of trade to the Indies, ordaining the ſeizure and confiſcation of veſſels and goods, which the other ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty might ſend there; the impriſonment of the captains and maſters of ſhips who brought them there; and laſtly, a ſecurity of 1000 l. ſterling of going no more within the limits of the company's conceſſion, in contravention to this article.

The nineteenth obliges the company to bring back into England at leaſt as much gold and ſilver, as carried out every year; and aſſigns the ports

ports of London, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, as the only places in the kingdom, from which it ſhall be for the future allowed to export the ſpecie it ſhall have occaſion for in its traffic, which ſpecie of gold and ſilver ſhall be entered in the ſaid ports, either going out or coming in; though without paying any duties.

By the twentieth, the cuſtom-houſe officers are enjoined not to ſuffer the entrance of any goods coming from the places within the extent of the company's conceſſion, unleſs by a permit in writing.

The twenty-firſt fixes the ſum in the capital ſtock neceſſary to have a vote in the meetings at 500 l. ſterling, empowering notwithſtanding thoſe who ſhall ſubſcribe a leſs ſum to join ſeverally together for the forming of one vote.

The twenty-fourth article allows the company to ſend ſhips of war, and ſoldiers; to build caſtles and forts in all the places of its conceſſion; to make peace or war with all kinds of people that are not Chriſtians; and to obtain ſatisfaction by the force of arms from all thoſe who prejudice them, or interrupt their commerce.

And the twenty-ſixth empowers it likewiſe to arreſt and ſecure all the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, who ſhall trade in Indian or Engliſh veſſels, or who ſhall dwell in any of the places of its conceſſion, without a ſpecial licence from the ſaid company.

After the publication of this charter, the parliament ſeemed to diſlike the excluſive privilege granted by the ſixteenth article; which was no novelty, for it had been already agitated in the reign of James the Firſt; but this prince, fearing to riſque his authority, choſe rather to repeal a like privilege, which he granted to the colonies of Virginia, than to uphold the royal prerogative.

The ſhares, or ſubſcriptions, of the company, were originally only of 50 l. ſterling, but, the directors having a conſiderable dividend to make in 1676, it was agreed to join the profit to the original, inſtead of withdrawing it; whereby the ſhares were doubled, and became of 100 l. ſterling. The firſt capital was only 369,891 l. 5 s. which, being thus doubled, amounted to 739,782 l. 10 s. to which, if 963,639 l. the profits of the company to the year 1685, be added, the whole ſtock will be 1,703,422 l.

The company, having ſuſtained ſeveral loſſes by the Dutch and the ſubjects of the Great Mogul, began to be in a declining way at the Revolution; when the war with France put it into ſo deſperate a condition, that appearing ſcarce poſſible to be ſupported, a new one was erected.

The riſe of this new company was occaſioned by the great caſe of the old company being taken into conſideration by the parliament; which caſe had been depending ſeveral years; and becauſe of its intricacy, had been firſt referred by the parliament to the king, and by him back to the parliament again, in the year 1698; when the old company offered to advance 700,000 l. at 4 per cent. for the ſervice of the government, in caſe the trade to India might be ſettled on them excluſive of all others; and the parliament ſeemed inclined to embrace their propoſal. But another number of merchants, of whom Mr. Shepherd was the chief, and who were ſupported by Mr. Montague, chancellor of the Exchequer, propoſed to the houſe of commons to raiſe two millions at eight per cent. upon condition the trade to India might be ſettled on the ſubſcribers excluſive of all others: they alſo propoſed, that theſe ſubſcribers ſhould not be obliged to trade in a joint ſtock; but

but if any members of them ſhould afterwards deſire to be incorporated, a charter ſhould be granted to them for that purpoſe. The houſe judged this new overture not only to be more advantageous to the government, but alſo very likely to ſettle this controverted trade on a better foundation than it was on before; a bill was, therefore, brought in for ſettling the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, according to theſe limitations, and ſome further reſolutions.

The old Eaſt-India company preſented a petition againſt this bill; which, notwithſtanding, was paſſed in favor of the new company, who obtained a charter of incorporation, dated Sept. 5, 1698, by the name of "The general ſociety intitled to the advantages given by an act of parliament, for advancing a ſum not exceeding two millions for the ſervice of the crown of England" Whereby the ſum total of all the ſubſcriptions was made the principal ſtock of the corporation; and the new company was inveſted with the ſame privileges as were granted to the old company, by the charter of king Charles the Second. However, the old company was, by the act indulged with leave to trade to the Indies until Michaelmas, 1701.

The fund of this new company became ſo conſiderable, and ſubſcriptions were carried on with ſuch facility, that, in leſs than two years, the company put to ſea forty ſhips equipped for its trade; which was double the number employed by the old company in the moſt floriſhing times of its commerce; and it ſent annually a million ſterling in ſpecie to the Indies; whereas the old company had never ſent above 500,000 l.

The two companies ſubſiſted a few years in a ſeparate ſtate; when, having a due regard to their common intereſts, and for the prevention of ſeveral

ral inconveniencies that might otherwiſe have happened, both to themſelves and the nation in general, they agreed upon ſeveral articles for the union of the ſaid companies.

Accordingly, in the year 1702, a new charter of union was granted the two companies by queen Anne, under the name of, "The united company of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies," which was eſſentially the ſame with thoſe of king Charles, and king William; becauſe, by the union of the two companies, they have adopted all the regulations made for the government of the old company: ſo that the united company ſhould rather be deemed the old company continued, than a corporation erected upon a different eſtabliſhment. Which charter being ſince expired, another charter, with new powers, was granted them in 1730; and, in the 17th year of king George the Second, was continued until the 25th of March, 1780; when, on three years notice, and repayment of the capital ſtock borrowed by the government and the annuities, the company's right to the ſole and excluſive trade to the Eaſt-Indies is to ceaſe and determine.

To the 2,000,000 l. advanced by the new company to William the Third, the united company, in the ſixth year of queen Anne, lent the government 1,200,000 l. more; which made their whole loan amount to 3,200,000 l; being, what may properly be called, the capital ſtock of the company: the firſt loan of two millions was ſecured by the government out of the duties upon ſalt; and the additional ſtamp duties granted in the 9th and 10th years of William the Third, chargeable with the payment of 160,000 l. as an yearly fund for paying the intereſt at 8 l. per cent. but, by the act of the 3d of George the Second, this annuity of

160,000 l.

160,000 l. was reduced to 128,000l. and transferred as a charge upon the aggregate fund; and in 1749, it was reduced to 3l. $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. until Christmas 1757, and after that to 3l. per cent. But besides this 3,200,000l. there is a million more due by the public to this company, being lent by them at 3l. per cent. in the said 17th year of his late majesty.

For the œconomy and policy of the united company, all persons, without exception, are admitted members of it, natives and foreigners, men and women; with this circumstance, that 500 l. in the stock of the company gives the owner a vote in the general courts, and 2000l. qualifies him to be chosen a director. The directors are 24 in number, including the chairman and deputy chairman, who may be re-elected for four years successively. They have a salary of 150l. a year, and the chairman of 200l. The meetings, or courts of directors, are to be held at least once a week; but are commonly oftener, being summoned as occasions require.

Out of the body of directors are chosen divers committees, who have the peculiar inspection of certain branches of the company's business; as the committee of correspondence, committee of buying, committee of treasury, committee of warehouses, committee of shipping, committee of accompts, committee of private trade, committee of house, and committee to prevent the growth of private trade.

This company is not only granted an exclusive privilege of trade to the Indies, and other extraordinary concessions from the government, by the charter; but there are also several acts of parliment made in its behalf, whereby all the British subjects are restrained from going to the East-Indies;

or

or from procuring, or acting under, any foreign commiſſion, for ſailing to, or trading there; or from ſubſcribing to, or promoting, any foreign company, for trading there, under ſevere penalties; though, upon the whole, this trade is monopolized by the company, and is generally eſteemed highly injurious to the Britiſh navigation, as all monopolies are to that of every trading country. This is evident from the behavior of the parliament in the reign of Charles the Second, who, was more reſolute, or more happy, than his grandfather; ſo that the queſtion was debated in the court of common pleas, where it was decided in favor of the king.

I SHALL conclude my account of this company, with obſerving, that this, as well as every company which is deſigned for building forts and making ſettlements in foreign countries, ſhould have been at firſt incorporated for ever; becauſe it is not to be expected, that a corporation will be at any great expence in building forts or making ſettlements, when they are in danger of their corporation's being diſſolved, before they can reap any benefit from the expence they have been at. This was foreſeen by the adminiſtration at the end of queen Anne's reign; therefore they eſtabliſhed the South-Sea company for ever, though they went a little too far in giving that company a perpetual excluſive privilege; for though this may be neceſſary at firſt, it ought never to be made perpetual. From an act made in the following ſeſſion relating to the Eaſt-India company, it would ſeem, that there was then likewiſe a deſign to have eſtabliſhed that company for ever; but how that deſign came to be laid aſide does not appear; for had it been carried into execution, the French, in the laſt war, would not probably

bably have found it ſo eaſy to make themſelves maſters of Madraſs: at leaſt, if they had, the managers for the company would have been much more to blame.

CHAP. VII.

Of the other EUROPEAN *companies trading to the* EAST-INDIES. *The* DUTCH Eaſt-India *company. The* FRENCH Eaſt-India *company.* DANISH Eaſt-India *company.* OSTEND Eaſt-India *company.* Eaſt-India *company of* SWEDEN. EMBDEN Eaſt-India, *or* PRUSSIAN ASIATIC *company.*

REMARKS.

THE Portugueſe firſt ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope to the Eaſt-Indies, in the year 1498; and the firſt ſettlement they made on the continent of India was at Cochin, on the coaſt of Malabar, in the year 1502. The Engliſh and Dutch did not attempt to trade to India till about the year 1600, and then only to the iſlands at firſt; though it is true, ſeveral of their commanders had, before that time, been ſent out upon diſcoveries, and ſailed round the globe, through the ſtreights of Magellan, particularly Sir Francis Drake in the year 1586, and Oliver Noort in 1598. Beſides, in the year 1595, the province of Holland fitted out four ſhips for diſcovery, which ſailed to Bantam, in the iſland of Java, and brought back with them ſuch ſamples of the goods of the eaſt, as induced the United Provinces to erect one general company for that trade, in the year 1594; but the Portugueſe had, for 100 years, engroſſed all the rich

rich trade of India to themſelves, except that the Spaniards had a little interrupted their commerce, in the Moluccas and the Philippines, on their diſcovering a paſſage to the Indies through the South-Sea, in the year 1520; though, when the other European powers became ſenſible of the value and facility of this commerce, they ſoon began to participate the emoluments, by erecting the following companies.

The Dutch East-India company commenced in 1594, in the midſt of thoſe military confuſions attendant on the revolt of the United Provinces from the allegiance of Spain. The Spaniards having ſhut up all their ports againſt theſe new republicans, whom they looked upon as rebels, and having even prohibited them all commerce to the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, of which they were then, in ſome ſenſe, the maſters; neceſſity inſpired ſome Zealanders to go in queſt of a new paſſage for China and the Eaſt-Indies by the N. E. and to coaſt, if poſſible, along Norway, Muſcovy, and Tartary.

This enterpriſe was undertaken in 1594, 1595, and 1596, by fitting out ſhips three different times, but all without any ſucceſs; the extreme colds of Nova Zembla, and the impenetrable ice of Weigats, having either deſtroyed the ſhips ſent there, or diſcouraged the adventurers.

Whilst this paſſage was unſucceſsfully attempting, a ſecond company was formed at Amſterdam; which, under the direction of Cornelius Houteman, ſent four ſhips, in 1595, by the uſual way which the Portugueſe went, with orders to conclude treaties with the Indians, for the trade of ſpice and other commodities; but more eſpecially in the places where the Portugueſe were not as yet eſtabliſhed.

This ſmall fleet returned, two years and four months after its departure, with little or no gain in

in reality; but with good information, and large hopes.

The old company, and a new one juſt eſtabliſhed at Amſterdam, being incorporated, they fitted out a fleet of eight veſſels, which ſet ſail, under admiral James Vaneck, from the Texel in 1598; and another fleet of three ſhips was fitted out, which weighed anchor the 4th of May 1599. Theſe were followed by ſeveral others; and ſo many new companies were erected at Amſterdam, Rotterdam, and other places, that the States-General apprehended they muſt prove detrimental to each other; which fear, juſtified by ſome ſad conſequences, cauſed the directors of all the different companies to aſſemble: the reſult of this meeting was the union of all, which was confirmed by the ſtates the 20th of March 1602; whoſe ſucceſs was very great, both on account of the immenſe riches brought into the United Provinces, or the kingdoms and ſtates which this company ſubdued in ſo many different countries of Aſia.

The firſt fund of this company conſiſted of 6,459,840 guilders, or 565,236l. ſterling; of which Amſterdam advanced 3,674,915; Zealand 1,333,882; Delft 470,000; Rotterdam 177,400; Hoorn 266,868; and Enchuyſen 536,775: and the firſt grant of the ſtates was for 21 years, to commence from the date of the grant, which was the ſame with that of the confirmation.

The company is governed by ſixty-five directors, divided into thirteen different chambers. The chamber of Amſterdam has 18 directors, the chamber of Zealand 12, the chambers of Delft and Rotterdam 14: thoſe of Enchuyſen and Hoorn 14; thoſe of Haerlem, Leyden, Dort, Tergow, the provinces of Guelderland, Frieſland, and Utrecht, each of them one director.

SEVEN-

Seventeen directors were alſo choſen from among the ſixty-five, for the common affairs of the chambers; eight out of the chamber of Amſterdam, four out of that of Zealand, two out of thoſe of Delft and Rotterdam, and two out of thoſe of Enchuyſen and Hoorn, the ſeventeenth being choſen alternatively out of Zealand, the Meuſe, or North Holland; and it is this ſecond direction that regulates the number, the fitting out, and the departure of ſhips.

The company is privileged to contract alliances with the princes whoſe dominions are eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope; to build fortreſſes there, and to eſtabliſh governors, garriſons, and officers of juſtice and police: but the treaties are concluded in the name of the ſtates; in whoſe name all officers, both military and civil take their oaths.

At the expiration of each grant, the company is obliged to obtain a new one, which has happened four times ſince the firſt was granted; but the renewal of grants coſts the company conſiderable ſums of money.

By the grant of 1698, which was alſo confirmed in 1717, all the ſubjects of the States-General are prohibited the ſending of ſhips, and ſailing throughout the whole extent of the company's conceſſion, or carrying on a trade therein, either directly or indirectly; as alſo aſſociating with ſtrangers for this trade, or ſerving in their veſſels.

Nothing can be more wiſely and prudently concerted, than the police and diſcipline, whereby every thing is regulated in this company, either for the election of the directors of the chambers, or for the fitting out, and returns of ſhips; the choice of the ſeventeen particular directors, the ſale of merchandiſes, and the dividends of the profits; or, laſtly, for the conduct of their ſovereignties in the Indies.

This

This company has ſeveral large ſettlements, and many factories, for the ſupport of their trade. They are in poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, which ſerves them, as St. Helena does the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, for ſupplying their ſhips with water and other refreſhments in their voyage. The iſland of Mauritius ſerved them alſo for the ſame purpoſe. They have a factory at Mocha in Arabia, and two others at Gombroon and Ormus in Perſia, as alſo one at Iſpahan, the capital of that empire. They have likewiſe factories at Barak, Choule near Bombay, Rigapore Dunde, Baſſaloco, or Baynenar, and Bodven, on the proper coaſt of India; at Cananore, Pamari, Crananera, Cochin, Porchatt, Carnapole, Quilon, and Tegapatan, on the coaſt of Malabar; at Negapatan, Porta Nova, Sadraſſapatan, Cabelon, Pellicat, Catelore, Petipoly, Maſualapatan, and Bimlipatan, on the coaſt of Coromandel; at Balaſore, and Pipley, farther up the coaſt towards Bengal; at Baſnagul, Malda, Huegley, and Dacca, in Bengal; and at Patna, up the Ganges.

They have alſo a ſettlement in the kingdom of Aracan: they trade along the coaſt up to Siam, where they have the city of Malacca; and from thence they trade up to China.

They engroſs the whole trade of the iſland of Ceylon; they have ſome trade in the iſlands of Sumatra and Borneo: but the whole trade of Java, and the Molucca iſlands, is in their poſſeſſion; as is alſo ſome part of the trade of the Celebes and Banda iſlands; beſides, they are the only perſons who trade to Japan: ſo that no leſs than 40 factories, and 25 fortreſſes, are reckoned belonging to this company in the Eaſt-Indies; who employ, in this long and painful navigation, above 150 ſhips, from 30 to 60 guns, manned with 25,000

 ſailors,

ſailors, comprehending officers, ſoldiers, and mariners; beſides 12,000 troops of their own republic, to garriſon the forts.

THOUGH all theſe factories are very conſiderable, they are not to be compared with Batavia, the center of the company's commerce; and the Cape of Good Hope, the ſtaple, or rather the place of refreſhment, for all its ſhipping, either going or coming.

THE Dutch East-India company carry out great quantities of ſpecie, and of European goods, but chiefly of the latter, to India. From China, they bring home ſilks, both raw and wrought, China and Japan ware, tea, and arrack; from Bengal and Patna, ſilks, raw and wrought, diamonds, indico, and coris; from the other ports of India, ſilks, calicoes, muſlins, and great variety of other manufactures of cotton and flax; alſo ſhell-lack, ſtick-lack, red-wood, ſalt-petre, dying ſtuffs, and many drugs; beſides coffee, and ſome drugs, from Perſia.

FROM the iſland of Japan they bring home all kinds of Japan work, and lacquered ware; as alſo gold-duſt: from the Moluccas, they bring cloves: from the Banda iſlands, nutmegs and mace: from the Celebes, pepper and opium: from the Sunda iſlands, pepper, gold, coffee, and canes: and cinnamon from Ceylon.

THESE commodities being articles of luxury, and too great for the conſumption of the parſimonious Dutch, they export them to all parts of the world where they have any commerce; particularly to France, Spain, Germany, Italy, Turky, Dantzic, Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia.

FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY. The propoſals of this company in 40 articles, bearing date the 26th May 1664, were preſented to the king at Foun-

Fountainbleau, who confirmed them, by his lettets patent, in form of an edict, and had them ratified in parliament the 1ſt of September following.

THEIR import, among other things, was, that the company ſhould be formed of his majeſty's ſubjects, even of the nobles, without any dread of derogating from their nobility.

THAT each ſhare could not be leſs than a thouſand livres, nor the augmentations under 500.

THAT ſtrangers, of any prince or ſtate whatſoever, might be incorporated with the company; and that thoſe who ſhould have in it 20,000 livres, ſhould be reputed denizens, and in that reſpect ſhould enjoy all the privileges of real ſubjects.

THAT a chamber of general direction ſhould be eſtabliſhed, compoſed of 21 directors; whereof 12 ſhould be of the city of Paris, and 9 others of the provinces; and that the ſaid chamber might eſtabliſh particular ones, when and where it ſhould judge proper.

THAT his majeſty empowered the company to navigate ſolely, excluſive of his other ſubjects, in all the Indian ſeas, eaſt and ſouth, during the term of 30 years.

THAT it ſhould have for ever the poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. Laurence, or Madagaſcar, and of all the other lands, places and iſles, it might conquer from the enemy, and the natives, to enjoy them in all property, ſeigneury, and juſtice, without reſerving any thing therein, but ſole fealty and liege-homage, with the duty, rent, or ſervice, of a crown and ſcepter of gold, weighing 100 marks, upon each demiſe of a king: granting him alſo the power of nominating and eſtabliſhing all officers, military and civil; though the company might have it in its power to nominate ambaſſadors in his majeſty's

name to the Indian kings and princes, and make treaties with them.

THAT the company might ſend the ſpecies of gold or ſilver it ſhould have an occaſion for in its commerce, notwithſtanding the prohibitions enacted by the laws and ordonances of the kingdom; and this by a particular permiſſion, and a writing granted in its favor.

THAT his majeſty ſhould advance, or defray out of his own revenues, the fifth part of the expence neceſſary for the three firſt equipments; for which he was not to be reimburſed till the expiration of the firſt ten years, and without intereſt; and in caſe it ſhould be found, by a general accompt, that the company had ſuſtained a loſs in its capital, the loſs ſhould devolve upon the ſum advanced by his majeſty.

THAT the Indian merchandiſes conſumed in France ſhould pay but the half of the duties regulated by the tariffs; and that thoſe deſigned for other countries, and the exempted provinces, either by ſea or land, ſhould pay no duties of importation or exportation; as alſo the timber, and other neceſſary articles for the building and fitting out of the company's ſhips.

LASTLY, That his majeſty ſhould pay the company 50 livres per ton for the merchandiſe its ſhips ſhould carry into the countries of its conceſſion, and 75 livres for thoſe brought back and diſcharged in the kingdom.

HIS majeſty alſo granted the company a ſeal, having for legend, *Ludovici* XIV. *Franciæ et Navarræ Regis ſigillum, Uſum ſupremi conſilii Galliæ Orientalis*; and for arms, an azure globe and flower-de-luce of gold, with this inſcription, *Florebo quocumque ferar*; the ſupporters being two figures, one repreſenting Peace, and the other Plenty.

THE

The extraordinary funds eſtabliſhed, whereof the king advanced the greater part, and which amounted to no leſs than 7 or 8 millions of livres, though theſe were to have been 15: the departure of ſeveral fleets, either for the eſtabliſhment projected at Madagaſcar, which was to be the company's chief ſtaple, or for the eſtabliſhment of the factories it was deſirous of having in the Indies; and laſtly, the union and aſſiduity with which the French directors endeavored to uphold this enterpriſe, gave great ideas of this company, and vaſt hopes of ſucceſs.

But the ill choice of this firſt ſtaple in an unwholſome iſland, inhabited by cruel and unconquerable people, leſs rich, and leſs fruitful than it was believed to be upon exaggerated relations; the death of the moſt able and experienced directors ſent to the Indies, the diviſion of others; a breach of faith in M. Caron, a Dutchman, inconſiderately ſet over affairs in ſo diſtant a country; the wars of 1667 for the rights of the queen, and of 1672 againſt Holland; the little ſucceſs of the ſquadron commanded by M. Deſhays, whereof a part periſhed in 1672, at Trinquimale, in the iſland of Ceylon, where the ſaid Caron had unadviſedly engaged; and the other at the taking, defence, and ſurrender of St. Thomas, in 1673 and 1674, brought affairs into ſuch a ſituation, that what ſubſiſted afterwards of this company, or rather thoſe formed out of its ruin, which the traders of St. Malo ſupported with ſome ſucceſs to 1719, were no ways conſiderable.

The company being thus incapacitated from fulfilling its engagements, and continuing its commerce, it was thought adviſeable to give it a new form, whereby its credit, if poſſible, might be reanimated: to ſucceed wherein, a general aſſembly of the parties was held on the 29th of May 1684,

pursuant to a *lettre de cachet* of the 17th of April preceding.

This *lettre de cachet* ordained the election of a sufficient number of directors to fill the place of the deceased, or of those who could no longer acquit themselves of that function. It nominated commissioners, for the most part the same that had been nominated in 1675, to examine the company's books and accompts; signifying withal, that it was his majesty's intention a provision should be made of suitable gratifications for the directors, both of the general chamber of Paris, and the particular ones of the provinces.

The new directors being chosen pursuant to the *lettre de cachet*, the company's books were laid before the king's commissioners, and the director's gratifications being debated upon, were fixed at 3000 livres for each director of the general chamber of Paris, and 1000 livres for each director of the particular ones.

But this assembly, and the examination of the company's books, having served only to disclose its desperate condition, and the impossibility of subsisting without being reduced to another form, his majesty ordained, by an arret of his council of the 3d September of the same year, a speedy convocation of a new assembly; wherein, in presence of his commissioners, the books of the Indian factories, as also the clerks of the said factories newly arrived, should be heard and examined; and that out of the said books, and other memoirs, a new book of accompts of the quality and value of the company's effects should be made; which, when inspected into by his majesty, with the advice of his commissioners, he might be in a condition to resolve upon what was to be done.

In consequence of this assembly, it appeared, by the company's accompts, that its funds amounted

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in all only to the ſum of 3,353,966 livres, or about 136,255 l. ſterling; and that only 80 actioniſts had afforded their fourths over and above; whereupon the king iſſued out a declaration, in the month of February 1685, whereby it was ordained,

1ſt, THAT the edict of the month of September 1664, ſhould be executed, purſuant to its form and tenor, for the benefit of the antient actionaries, who ſhould have furniſhed their fourth over and above, as well for the fourth remaining of their actions, as for their new fund of the fourth over and above.

2d, THAT thoſe who had not paid the ſaid fourth, ſhould forfeit all the intereſt they had therein.

3d, THAT the ſum of 728,975 livres, to which the ſupplement amounted, and unpaid by the actioniſts, ſhould be advanced by thoſe nominated by his majeſty, who were to take the place of thoſe that had not ſupplied the ſaid fourth, with the injunction of paying them a like ſum of 728,975 livres for the fourth, to which all the actions had been reduced.

4th, THAT thoſe who contributed new funds for this reimburſement, and for the continuation of the company's commerce, ſhould be paid the intereſt of their ſaid funds and reimburſements, upon the footing of payment uſed in maritime commerce, that is, upon the proviſo of profits that might iſſue from the ſaid commerce.

5th, THAT, to take care of the company, and its trade, 12 directors ſhould be choſen from among the actioniſts of the city of Paris, who ſhould have at leaſt furniſhed 30,000 livres of new funds.

6th, THAT, upon the deceaſe of any of the ſaid directors, others ſhould be nominated, by a plu-

rality of voices, as well from among the ſurviving directors, as from among the actioniſts, who ſhould have furniſhed at leaſt 20,000 livres of actions.

7th, That the ſaid directors ſhould have the ſole management of the affairs, and commerce of the company; his majeſty ſuppreſſing all the directors nominated in the general chamber of Paris, and in all the other chambers of the kingdom.

8th, That in caſe the company was willing to keep the iſland of Madagaſcar, it ſhould be held purſuant to the fealty, homage, and duties, owing to his majeſty; or, on the contrary, ſhould be acquitted and diſcharged from the ſaid fealty.

But the company renounced its right to this iſland in 1686; when by an arret of council of the 4th January of the ſame year, Madagaſcar was united to the crown.

It was upon this foundation that the company ſubſiſted, and was governed till 1719; at which time it was incorporated with the company of the weſt, known afterwards by the name of the Indian company.

In the month of April 1687, the number of directors was increaſed to twenty; which new directors were to pay for their reception 40,000 livres, if they had already 20,000 livres of actions in the company, and 60,000 livres, if they had no actions therein.

By this new form given to the company, its funds amounted to 2,100,000 livres, or about 104,000 l. ſterling; whereof the directors advanced 1,200,000, being 60,000 livres each, and the actioniſts about 900,000 livres.

It ſeemed, that, under theſe new directors, the company became ſomewhat vigorous; and, in effect, its commerce being proſperous, two dividends were

were made for its actionists in 1687 and 1691, amounting together to 30 per cent.

After 1691, its commerce was greatly interrupted by the war that followed the revolution in England, and that wherein France was engaged for the Spanish succession.

Immediately after the peace of Ryswick, the directors made more extraordinary efforts than ever before; but here may be properly dated the epocha of the company's fall, the war of 1700 having endangered it to such a degree, that when it was incorporated 19 years afterwards with the company of the west, its debts, contracted both in the kingdom and in the Indies, amounted to upwards of ten millions of livres, or about 500,000l. sterling.

It seems that, in 1701, the company having represented to the ministry its unhappy situation, obtained from his majesty a loan of 850,000 livres, provided that each of the directors would augment their fund to the amount of 40,000, and the actionists to 50 per cent.

The execution of these conditions caused great troubles among the directors and actionists; the former accepting them, and the latter refusing to execute them, notwithstanding two arrets of council, of the 21st February, and 16th May 1702, that authorised the result of the general assembly held the 24th January of the same year.

Lastly, in 1704, all contestations were terminated by an arret of council, of the 1st of April; which, notwithstanding all other arrets since that of the 16th of May 1702, ordained, that all the company's actionists should be interested in its commerce, both for the dividing of profits, and the sustaining of losses, each with regard to their fund, as well for the past, as for the time to come.

That

That to be acquainted with the ſtate of the company's affairs, the directors ſhould immediately, and above all things, give in the accompts of their commercial tranſactions.

That, for the future, the actioniſts need not be engaged in any new loans, unleſs the deliberations were ſigned by three actioniſts from among the five that ſhould be nominated by them for the examination of the ſaid accompts; and in caſe of refuſal, the parties ſhould refer the matter to the Sieur Pontchartrain, according to whoſe report his majeſty would proceed to a deciſion.

This ſtating of accompts reviving the directors and actioniſts conteſtations, and the company's affairs being daily upon the decline; two arrets were iſſued out, one of the 6th, and the other of the 12th of November 1708.

The firſt arret ordained, that within two months time, a general aſſembly of the company's directors and actioniſts ſhould be held, in preſence of the *prevot de merchands*, to expedite whatever was neceſſary for the upholding and augmenting of the commerce of the ſaid company, that his majeſty might be in a condition to know what regulations ſhould be made.

The ſecond ordained the execution of the former, and ſuperſeded all purſuits, compulſions, and executions, upon the company's effects, on account of its debts, and upon the perſons and goods of the directors. Yet the creditors might indemnify themſelves in the council, and might make therein whatever demand they ſhould judge proper; with a prohibition of endeavoring to obtain juſtice by any other means, upon pain of nullity.

But things being not diſpoſed as yet, to erect a new Eaſt India company in France, and the miniſtry willing that the French ſhould continue their com-

commerce there with ſome reputation, the court allowed the company's directors to treat with the rich traders of St. Malo, and to give up to them their privilege upon certain conditions: in whoſe hands it was that the French trade began to reflouriſh in the Indies, till this company was incorporated with that of the weſt in 1719.

It ſhould be obſerved, that, for a conſiderable time, the Eaſt India company was allowed to ſhare its privilege with others, through the hopes that the profits accruing from its treaties might be a ſupport to its commerce, or at leaſt that it might have wherewithal to pay in France the intereſts of ſo many bills, and the credit of renewing them.

The firſt of theſe treaties was of the 4th January 1698, with the Sieur Jourdan, and his aſſociates, for the Chineſe trade; the ſecond with the Sieur Crozat, and his company, in the month of December 1708, authoriſed by an arret of the 15th of the ſame month.

By this laſt treaty, the directors of the company allowed the Sieur Crozat to ſend to the Indies, in the company's name, two ſhips, upon proviſo that the company ſhould have 15 per cent. from the ſale of the effects brought back by theſe ſhips, without any deduction: as alſo 2 per cent. accruing from the prizes the ſaid ſhips might make beyond the line; with liberty for the ſaid company to bring back in theſe two ſhips, freight free, to the amount of ten ton of Indian goods; the company reſerving for itſelf the duty of tonnage, as well going as coming, granted by his majeſty; that is, the duty of 50 livres per ton of the merchandiſes exported by theſe ſhips into the countries of its conceſſion, and 75 livres per ton for thoſe brought back to be unladen in the country; which his majeſty acceded to by way of gratification for the company.

The

The conditions of the treaty with Jourdan were much the ſame with thoſe of the Sieur Crozat.

Ponicherry, which the French uſually call Pontichery, or Pondicherry, is their chief Indian factory; the reſidence of the director-general of the company, and the center of their commerce: their other eſtabliſhments being only factories, where few clerks are left, very often but one, except that of Surat, which is pretty conſiderable.

The company ſecured Pondicherry in 1688, by a fort flanked with four towers; upon which was a battery of 24 pieces of cannon, with a good garriſon.

The Hollanders beſieged it in 1693, and took it after a long ſiege: during which the Sieur Martin, director-general, who, two years before, was complimented with letters of nobility from the king, and who was afterwards of the order of St. Michael, ſignalized himſelf greatly, and obtained for himſelf and his garriſon a very honorable capitulation, beſides ſeveral advantageous articles for the company.

Pondicherry was four years after reſtored to the French by the treaty of Ryſwick, and is, to this day, their chief eſtabliſhment in the Indies: but the Engliſh, in the year 1748, under the conduct of admiral Boſcawn, unſucceſsfully attempted the reduction of it. The commodities imported to France by the French Eaſt India company, are the ſame as thoſe imported into England by the Engliſh Eaſt India company.

Danish East India company. It is but of late that the Danes undertook long voyages, at leaſt for the Indies; their flags making no appearance in the gulph of Bengal, and about the coaſts of Pegu, till near the middle of the 17th century. Their chief factory is at Tranquebar, or Trincombar,

bar, where they ſend two or three ſhips yearly, and where they have a conſiderable fortreſs; but they have lately extended their trade to China, and appointed Altena, near Hamburgh, for the port where the Eaſt India commodities are to be unloaded, and public ſales made of them.

Ostend East India company. As ſoon as the Spaniſh Netherlands were yielded to the emperor by the treaty of Raſtadt, the merchants of Oſtend, Antwerp, and ſome other towns of Flanders and Brabant, thought of reaping ſome advantage from the protection and power of their new maſter, for the eſtabliſhment of their commerce in the Eaſt Indies.

Their firſt ſetting out was without authority and letters-patent; yet with the hopes, at their return, of being made a regular company, like the Engliſh, Dutch, and French.

But the infant commerce of this company was immediately troubled by the Dutch; who, the 19th of December 1718, took, upon the coaſts of Africa, an Oſtend veſſel richly laden, though protected by a paſſport from the emperor.

Towards the end of the year 1719, the emperor allowed the directors to receive ſubſcriptions, and began to encourage the ſubſcription of actioniſts: he alſo granted a deduction of 2½ per cent. of all the duties accruing to him from the commodities imported by the company's ſhips, beſides ſeveral other privileges they were made to expect; and, about the ſame time, he demanded ſatisfaction from the States-General for the ſeizure of the Oſtend ſhip; but to no purpoſe, for the Dutch Eaſt India company ſeized another.

The merchants of Oſtend, by commiſſion from the emperor, fitted out privateers to protect their commerce, took a Dutch ſhip, would not make reſtitution,

restitution, and, in despight of the Hollanders menaces, fitted out for the East Indies in 1720 five ships richly laden, and in 1721 six more; three for China, one for Mocha, one for Surat and the coast of Malabar, and the sixth for Bengal; their principal station in the Indies being at Coblon, 56 miles N. of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel.

The Dutch, on their side, to stop their progress, confiscated a ship fitted out for the East Indies by the traders of Bruges, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the imperial minister at the Hague.

The English pirates having taken, in the seas of Madagascar, an Ostend ship richly laden, and bound for Europe; this new loss seemed to discourage the Imperial company: but upon the safe arrival of four others, in 1722, it found itself in a condition, not only to repair its losses, but also to continue its commerce with more success and reputation.

At last his imperial majesty granted this company his letters-patent, in a most ample and authentic manner; the duration of its concession being 30 years, its limits the East and West Indies, with all the coasts of Africa, both beyond and on this side the Cape of Good Hope; as also all the ports, harbors, places, and rivers, where other nations had any freedom of trade.

The company's fund was fixed at six millions of guilders, or about 475,000 l. sterling, and at 6000 actions, of 1000 guilders each.

The news of these letters-patent made the English and Dutch unite to obtain their revocation; and the Dutch East India company presented two memorials on this head to the states; in the latter whereof, of the 9th August 1723, a liberty of disputing their rights by the force of arms was required.

quired. The Oftend company founded themfelves upon the natural liberty which all nations have of trading wherever it feems convenient, unlefs fome particular convention might deprive them of it; and the Dutch pretended that there was fuch a convention between them and thofe of Oftend, fpecified by the treaties of barrier, and that of Munfter.

THE courts of London and Paris, whofe fubjects had been allowed, by treaty, to import filks into Germany, and the emperor's hereditary dominions, backed the remonftrances of the republic; and France thought it neceffary to hinder her traders to intereft themfelves in this company; for which purpofe the French monarch iffued out a declaration, of the 16th Auguft 1723, among other things, impofing a penalty of 3000 livres, a confifcation of all funds and effects in the faid company, and three years banifhment in cafe of a fecond offence; which example was followed in Great Britain.

THE emperor, continuing his utmoft efforts to fupport the new company, entered into a treaty with Spain in 1725, whereby the Spanifh monarch engaged to allow greater advantages in trade to the imperialifts than to any other nation, particularly to the Oftend company. Whereupon the French infinuated, that there were ftill fome further fecret articles, much more prejudicial to the trade of Britain than thofe that appeared; which induced the Britifh miniftry to enter into an alliance with them, in oppofition to that of Vienna; whereby the contracting parties guarantied their refpective rights and privileges in relation to trade, which ftruck chiefly at the Oftend company; and the Dutch were afterwards induced to accede to this treaty, with a view to prevent the trade of this company

company to the Eaſt Indies; while Great Britain commenced hoſtilities againſt Spain in the Weſt Indies: ſo that the emperor being prevailed on by the Dutch, who acted as mediators, to conſent that the charter ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years, preliminaries for a general peace were ſigned at Paris, in May 1727, between the allies of Vienna, and thoſe of Hanover; ſince which time, the Oſtend company has never been revived.

East India company of Sweden. In the year 1730, a Dutchman, named Van Aſper, who had projected the ſame thing in Denmark, propoſed the erecting of an Eaſt India company in Sweden; which being approved of, the king took upon himſelf to be its protector; and when the Dutch, who apprehended this would be as prejudicial as the Oſtend company had been to their trade, complained of it, they were given to underſtand, that commerce was open to all nations, and that the Swediſh kingdom had an equal right to it with others; ſince which time the Swedes have ſent ſeveral ſhips to the Indies; and have been ſo ſucceſsful in this trade, as to be under no neceſſity of purchaſing the merchandiſe of India from their European neighbors, as they formerly did, unleſs it be the fine ſpices; which the Swedes, and all other nations, are obliged to purchaſe of the Dutch, who have robbed the reſt of the world of them, and conſequently ſet what prices they pleaſe upon thoſe commodities.

Embden East India, or Prussian Asiatic company. His Pruſſian majeſty, ſenſible of the advantages reſulting from a maritime intereſt, granted in 1751 a patent for 20 years, to Henry Thomas Stuart, and company, for eſtabliſhing a Pruſſian Aſiatic company at Embden, an imperial city, and port-town of Germany, in the circle of Weſtphalia;

Weſtphalia; empowering it to ſend an indefinite number of ſhips annually to Canton in China; which grant was ſolemnly regiſtered; and ſuch effectual means were concerted for the proſecution of the deſign, that the adventurers were perfectly ſatisfied; for his majeſty not only iſſued his letters patent for making the port of Embden a free port, but ordered memorials to be preſented to the maritime powers, and ſuch other princes whoſe ſubjects traded to the Eaſt Indies, concerning the navigation of the ſhips belonging to the Embden company: upon which the States-General of the United Provinces declared, that his majeſty's ſhips ſhould have the ſame liberty as thoſe of other nations, to trade to all the ports, except thoſe which the Dutch Eaſt India company have the ſole right of trading to: that they ſhould be alſo at liberty even to put into thoſe ports to refit, after bad weather, or to get proviſions and water, in caſe they were in diſtreſs for them: but that, as the ſubjects of the Republic, employed in their India company, incur very ſevere penalties, by going into the ſervice of any other power, they hoped his Pruſſian majeſty would not permit ſuch perſons to ſail in his ſhips to the Eaſt Indies, ſeeing, in ſuch caſes, the Dutch Eaſt India company could not avoid ſeizing them, and puniſhing them with the utmoſt rigor. The directors of this company reſolved to ſend only two ſhips to China for the firſt year; and, upon the ſucceſs of theſe, to regulate their future proceedings: accordingly one of their ſhips, called the king of Pruſſia, ſet ſail from Embden on the 17th of February 1752; and as the other powers granted the ſame conceſſions with the Dutch, this company had more reaſon to expect a ſucceſsful event than that of Oſtend, which was circumvented by thoſe very powers, who, in complaiſance to his

 Pruſſian

Pruſſian majeſty, granted to the Embden company what the emperor could never obtain for the other.

Remarks.

One of the reaſons why the Dutch Eaſt India company flouriſhes, and is become more rich and powerful than all the others, is its being abſolute, and inveſted with a kind of ſovereignty and dominion, more eſpecially over the many ports, provinces, and colonies, it poſſeſſes in thoſe parts. For it appoints magiſtrates, admirals, generals, and governors; ſends and receives embaſſies from kings and ſovereign princes; makes peace and war at pleaſure; and by its own authority adminiſters juſtice to all; appoints tribunals to judge in their name, with plenary power and no appeal; puniſhes and remits offences; beſtows rewards becoming the dignity of kings; ſettles colonies, builds fortifications, levies troops, maintains numerous armies and garriſons, fits out fleets, and coins money. And though there is acknowledged a dependance upon the States-General, it may be ſaid they ſeldom exert their power; and while the republic preſerves the right of ſovereignty, it tacitly leaves the exerciſe and poſſeſſion of it to the merchants of this company. Theſe vaſt powers were, and are ſtill, requiſite to cheriſh and preſerve this flouriſhing branch of trade: and the proprietors juſtly merited them; for by their own vigilance, care, and expence, they conquered, and preſerve all the countries they poſſeſs in thoſe parts of Aſia, and their fortreſſes on the coaſt of Africa for the refreſhment, refitting and protection of their ſhips.

The power of the Dutch by ſea and land is very great in the Eaſt Indies; where, by force, addreſs, and alliances, they raiſed themſelves, and ſtill ſupport a great ſuperiority, in ſpite of the Engliſh,

English, Portugueſe, and other Europeans, that have ſome trade there; but ſo inconſiderable, that, all together, is not equal to what the Hollanders ſingly enjoy, and who could give law to the very Engliſh in 1662, obliging them to a peace very advantageous to Holland, and their Eaſt India company in particular, after a bloody and expenſive war that aroſe from jealouſy and rivalſhip in commerce. Therefore it may be for the advantage of England, France, and even Portugal, to tolerate and encourage other companies, from reaſons of ſtate, and ſelf-preſervation, which put all princes and republics upon reducing the power of ſuch as aſpire after univerſal dominion, or have already acquired it; as the Aſſyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans did, and againſt whom thoſe neareſt to danger uſually form conſpiracies, courting even diſtant alliances to ballance the great and ambitious power that threatens them; and to reduce it to an equality, or even lower, that all may live ſecure, and confined within their own limits. If the power of the Dutch, though great in Europe, does not put princes and ſtates upon their guard, they muſt poſſeſs a kind of univerſal monarchy or dominion in the ſouthern provinces, iſlands, and ſeas of Aſia, from Arabia to Japan; ſubjecting, by all poſſible ways, many of the powers of Europe to their law, in every thing reſpecting that important branch of trade; a thing which, beſide the diſhonor of it, very much interferes with their intereſt. For, in thoſe parts, Holland commands and directs every thing at pleaſure, bringing ſovereigns under ſubjection, conquering or reducing large and plentiful provinces, after it laid the foundation of its empire upon the ſpoils of Portugal, and enlarged it by preſcribing narrow limits to the juriſdiction and commerce of the

Engliſh, and diſappointing or reducing that of the French and other Europeans. For this, and other reaſons, good policy ſeems to ſuggeſt, that the Engliſh, French and Portugueſe, intereſted and aggrieved, ſhould unite, and not only tolerate, but encourage any proper new company, and receive it as an auxiliary and confederate power, to aſſiſt in humbling the pride of the Dutch, and weakening their univerſal dominion in the Eaſt Indies, that all may live independent, and not under a ſubjection that bears hard upon their honour and commerce.

The Eaſt Indies is a bottomleſs pit for bullion, which can never circulate back to Europe; and when bullion fails, that trade muſt ceaſe. That this is the preſent ſituation of all the kingdoms of Europe, with reſpect to the trade which they carry on with the Eaſt Indies, is alſo aſſerted by the marquis Jerome Belloni, a celebrated merchant and banker at Rome; and this for no other reaſon, than that immenſe gulph of paſſive commerce, wherein they are involved by means of the commodities which the Europeans import from thoſe parts. For, according to this author, not only the great quantities of jewels and manufactures, with the numberleſs liquors and ſpices, the greateſt part whereof the luxury and pride of men have raiſed to high prices, render that trade ſo exorbitant, that the great advantage which the Europeans receive from America, and the great quantities of gold and ſilver, and other uſeful things, which are brought from thence, are not ſufficient to compenſate the loſs ſuſtained by that exceſſively expenſive trade; but even the many commodities which come from the Eaſt Indies to Europe, and thoſe inexpreſſibly vaſt ſums of money, beſides ſome few ſorts of European commodities, which are

are exhaufted by the importation of thofe Eaft Indian goods, give juft ground to make it a queftion, whether the money that is brought from America to Europe is more confiderable, than that which is exported from Europe to the Eaft Indies.

The baron de Montefquieu, in his "Spirit of Laws," fpeaking of the trade of Europe in general to the Eaft Indies, not only acknowledges this truth, but alfo gives reafons for it. "We at prefent, fays he, carry on the trade of the Indies merely by means of the filver we fend thither, which is exchanged for merchandifes brought to the weft. Every nation that ever traded to the Indies, has conftantly carried bullion, and brought merchandifes in return. It is nature itfelf that produces the effect. The Indians have their arts adapted to their manner of living. Our luxury cannot be theirs, nor their wants ours. Their climate hardly demands, or permits any thing which comes from ours. They go, in a great meafure, naked; fuch cloaths as they have, the country itfelf furnifhes; and their religion which is deeply rooted, gives them an averfion for thofe things that ferve for our nourifhment. Therefore they want nothing but our bullion, to ferve as the medium of value; and for which they give us in return merchandizes, with which the frugality of the people, and the nature of the country, furnifh them in great abundance."

CHAP. VIII.

Of ancient INDIA: *its inhabitants*; *their religion*; *government*; *and of the* BRACHMANS.

THE Greeks having heard that the ſouthern Indians were black and ſwarthy, eaſily confounded them with the people of Ethiopia and of Colchis, and imagined that the firſt were a colony that had ſtraggled from the eaſt, as the Colchians were originally Ethiopian ſoldiers, whom Seſoſtris had left in that province to defend his conqueſts againſt the northern nations. Secondly, the Indies have ever been reckoned a country abounding in all ſorts of riches; and we know that Colchis had its mines of gold, and that Ethiopia produced the ſame animals which are to be ſeen in the Indies. There needed no more than this conformity, to give occaſion to authors little verſed in geography, to confound together ſuch remote countries as Colchis, Ethiopia, and the Indies.

WE have no real knowledge of the laſt, but of thoſe provinces and cities through which the army of Alexander paſſed, and which Arrian has deſcribed with all poſſible exactneſs. The Hyphaſis became the boundary of his conqueſts, on account of the oppoſition the Macedonians made to his farther progreſs. He only paſſed it, in order to erect thoſe ſuperb altars in imitation of the columns of Hercules. As we are indebted to the expedition of that hero, for what knowledge we have of this country, ſuch as it then was, ſo we are entirely ignorant of all that exiſted beyond it to the Ganges. Arrian makes mention of two cities, Minnagora and Barygaxa, both which he celebrates

lebrates for their commerce. That vaſt extent of country, now ſo famous, which ſtretches from the junction of all thoſe rivers to the Indus, even to the bottom of the peninſula, was as little known to the ancients. They mention only the kingdoms of the Sabraques of the Sogdes, of Muſican, of the Preotes, of the Sabians, and that of Patala. Some of the inhabitants they called Indo-Scythians.

ALL that country had the name of India within the Ganges; *India intra Gangem.* It contained one hundred and eighteen nations or provinces, in ſome of which were three hundred cities, as in the kingdom of Porus; in others much fewer, and there were princes who reigned only over two. About forty rivers are ſaid to run through this country, moſt of them navigable, and all of them throw themſelves into the Indus. After ſwallowing up ſo many others, we may form a judgment of its bigneſs, by that of the Hydaſpes, whoſe channel is never leſs than twenty ſtadia, or a great league. What then muſt a river be, in which ſo many others loſe themſelves?

ALTHOUGH the Indians are deſcended from Shem, whoſe poſterity preſerved the memory of the true God for a longer time than thoſe of Ham and Japhet; yet the darkneſs which ſpread itſelf over every human mind, effaced the idea which the Creator had imprinted there; and they tranſferred their homage to the ſun, the moon, to trees, and other ſenſible objects. The day-ſtar had one of the moſt magnificent temples that ever was built: the walls were of porphiry, covered within with plates of gold, on which were carved rays, that ſhone diverging every way from whatever ſide they were beheld. In the bottom of the temple was a figure of the ſun, compoſed of an infinite number of different ſorts of precious ſtones, diſ-

poſed in a very artificial manner; and which one might have ſaid came near the original; if it was poſſible to imitate that wonder of nature. They paid their adoration to that ſtar by dancing in a circle, in imitation of its courſe. This was the only idol which the Indians had among them, till being inſtructed by the Greeks in the worſhip of the heroes of fabulous antiquity, they conſecrated an elephant, which they called Ajax, with two golden ſtatues of Alexander, and two brazen ones repreſenting Porus. However great the number of thoſe princes of ancient India might be, no hiſtorian has given us a ſucceſſion of them, and we know but a ſmall part of their laws and cuſtoms. They were all obliged to make their appearance every day, in order to hear the complaints of their ſubjects, to judge of all differences ariſing among them, and to regulate the affairs of the ſtate; and they were not permitted to riſe from the audience, even to take refreſhment, before every thing was ended. They could do nothing without the advice of their council: but when more important affairs, or what related to religion, were under agitation, they were to conſult the Brachmans, that is the ſages, who again conſulted the Augurs. The fidelity which they obſerved in their negociations was inviolable; and to expreſs the ſacredneſs of them, they gave their heralds the ſign of an anchor, the ſymbol of their firmneſs and conſtancy.

In the kingdom of Muſican, near the delta of the river Indus, luxury and effeminacy were carried to as great a height, as ever they had been among the Perſians in the dregs of the laſt ages of their empire. The king was continually ſurrounded by a train of women, whoſe manners, actions, ſongs and converſation, inſpired nothing but the moſt ſhameful pleaſures.

One muſt be at a loſs to underſtand, how, under princes ſo effeminate, ſo much order and diſcipline were nevertheleſs preſerved in the ſtate, that they were admired on that account by the moſt civilized foreign nations. But it muſt be remembered, that luxury was not predominant in all the courts. A wiſe ſenate preſided over all the affairs of government: the numbers of it were choſen by the people: the king had only a voice in it; and, if that council was accuſed of error or injuſtice, the parties appealed to the people, who tried the cauſe afreſh, and amended the ſentence if neceſſary; in fine, the whole country was divided into ſeven claſſes, of which every one had its chiefs and ſuperintendants, who reſtrained particulars within the bounds of their duty. The firſt of theſe claſſes was, that of the Brachmans, or Sages; the ſecond of the huſbandmen; the third, of the ſhepherds; the fourth, contained the merchants and tradeſmen; the fifth, the ſoldiers; the ſixth, the ſuperintendants; and the ſeventh, the counſellors of the king and people.

The prince was diſtinguiſhed above the Brachmans, by nothing but his ſceptre and the pomp of his purple. Their continual application in the ſearch of truth, the purity of their manners, the retirement and auſterity in which they lived, had acquired them all the honors and immunities which the prieſts enjoyed among the Egyptians, or the Magi among the Perſians. Theſe ſages were of two ſorts; the Brachmans properly ſo called, and the Germani or Samaneans: the firſt were of a particular family, and the laſt might be of any of the other orders.

They taught philoſophy, the immortality of the ſoul, the motions of the heavenly bodies, the conſtruction of the human body, and the ſecrets of

of nature. They discoursed of every thing relating to government, the laws, the authority of the prince, and the rights of the people; in a word, they gave rules for the conduct of manners, that they might learn to lead a hard and austere life, which neither famine, solitude, the inclemency of the air, nor the rigor of the seasons, should disturb or incommode.

They were seen to pass the greatest part of the night and day in prayer, in singing songs and hymns in honor of the deity, and raising their hands to heaven when they offered up their vows for the prince, the people, and the goods of the earth. During the rest of the day they kept themselves retired in their cells, where they were employed in meditation on particular truths, in the study of philosophy, and in making experiments useful to the public. If in that interval they happened to spend too much time in conversation with their friends, they imposed on themselves the penalty of keeping silence for several days. Fasting and mortification was another exercise to which they thought themselves obliged.

A life thus entirely taken up in prayer and contemplation, attracted the confidence of the people.

The prince applied himself to them in difficult and extraordinary cases, to learn from them in what manner he should give judgment. He went to the place of their abode; he eat with them herbs, fruits, and lentile; but nothing which had life; and the statelines of those philosophers was such, that they drew lots for their places, that they might not yield to him the pre-eminence. He thought himself too happy if they gave him a gracious reception. They suffered him to stay with them no longer than a day, and it was only during the night that they gave him audience.

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The last object of their philosophy respected the regulation of manners. They began their studies, as they said, by the knowledge of themselves, whether of the mind and dispositions, or of the body: but as their whole conduct manifested an inexhaustible fund of pride, their lights upon this point were turned into darkness. The result of their reflections upon themselves was to be persuaded, that out of their own sect there was nothing but ignorance, effeminacy, and corruption; to believe that nothing was concealed from them, not even the thoughts and name of a stranger; to pretend to inspiration from the deity and familiar conversation with him; to place themselves above the rest of mankind, and to look upon themselves as gods.

That pretended strength of mind to which philosophy carried them, rendered life and death equally indifferent. They looked upon the good or evil, the pleasure or pain which might happen to them, as dreams; since they passed so rapidly from one to the other. But they were ashamed of those distempers which brought a decay upon the body, and disturbed the operations of the mind, regarding this life as the first moment of our conception, and death as the day of our real birth.

When they found themselves attacked by a severe indisposition, or worn out with old age, without hesitation, they put an end to their days by a voluntary death. They fitted up with their own hands the pile that was to serve them as an altar: they ascended it decked with their richest ornaments; and after having sung a few hymns, they lay down upon their faces, and suffered themselves to be reduced to ashes, without betraying the least sign of pain or sensibility. What a strange philo-

sophy

ſophy was that, which led men to their own deſtruction! "Equality, ſaid the Brachman Dindimus to Alexander the Great, places us all in independence; it baniſhes from among us envy, jealouſy, ambition and hatred. We have no tribunals, becauſe we do nothing which deſerves reprehenſion: and the juſtice in which we live, has not yet given riſe to the eſtabliſhment of the ſevere laws by which vice is puniſhed among the reſt of mankind. We are even afraid that by introducing them, they ſhould give birth to the thoughts of that evil which they prohibit. Our only law is, not to violate that of nature. Thus ſhunning all manner of reproach, we are not under any neceſſity to pardon others, in the hope we may be entitled to a mutual indulgence. Much leſs do we purchaſe pardon or impunity by the force of money; ſuch an act of grace granted through avarice, renders the judge more culpable than the criminal. Among us, idleneſs is ſeverely puniſhed; we dread voluptuouſneſs as the ſource of all frailty. We love labor; as it exerciſes our bodies; and we deteſt the man, who is a ſlave to his luſts. Our buſineſs has no other object but to procure us neceſſaries: we abhor every other view, and we look upon it as the original of all evil. No land-mark or boundaries are to be ſeen in our fields for the diſtinction of property: we are convinced that is an uſurpation contrary to nature; every one takes what he pleaſes of the products of the earth. We ſuffer the birds to fly unmoleſted, the beaſts to range the fields, and the fiſh to ſwim in the boſom of the waters. We poſſeſs all we can deſire, becauſe we deſire nothing beyond that which is neceſſary. We dread nothing ſo much as that inſatiable deſire to acquire property, which gives riſe to a thouſand cravings in the heart of man, and make him poorer from day

day to day, in proportion to the increaſe of his riches. The ſun warms us; the rain and dew cool us; the rivers quench our thirſt; the herbs and roots nouriſh us; the earth affords us a bed: anxious cares interrupt not our repoſe; independence delivers us from fear, and all kinds of ſubjection; and we look upon one another as brothers whom nature has rendered equal, and as the children of one ſupreme God, our common Father, who ought to make us partakers of the ſame inheritance. The heavens ſupply us with our favorite ſpectacle: we admire with joy their order, œconomy, regularity, and motions. We are tranſported when we behold the ſun flying in its purple car, ſpreading through every region his beaming rays of light, and returning every year to the place from whence he departed. From the heavens we paſs to the view of nature, whoſe works appear to us equally beautiful, admirable and incomprehenſible. The ſinging of the birds, the fountains, a flower, the ſtalk of an herb, raviſhes and afford an inexhauſtible fund of reflection. Contented with the natural growth of our own country, we wander not elſewhere in ſearch of the different rarities which an unknown ſky and climate produce. Nothing affects us but that which is convenient for us. We deſpiſe the flowers of eloquence, and condemn it as a pernicious art, only made uſe of to give falſhood the appearance of truth to ſcreen villainy, accuſe innocence, and ſometimes juſtify parricide. All our eloquence conſiſts in being ſincere, and adhering ſtrictly to truth."

This is an abridgment of their manners; and here follow the articles of their belief. The Brachmans held it as a maxim, " never to defile their ſacrifices with blood, by ſlaughtering innocent victims: they adorned not their temples with gold or ſilver,

ſilver, or the ſplendor of precious ſtones. They thought it would be inſulting the deity, ſhould they attempt to give him that which he does not want; or to ſhew themſelves as powerful as he, in oſtentatiouſly diſplaying all the riches which he could have. God requires that we ſhould honor him with a pure and not a bloody worſhip; and to be rendered propitious by the prayers and humiliations of men: he is that word itſelf by which he has created the viſible world, by which he preſerves, governs, and keeps it in being. He is a pure ſpirit, and conſequently requires nothing but the offering of our good works, of our virtues and virtuous actions."

This country was liable to the ſame innundations with Egypt, and perhaps they were here more conſiderable. Whether from the ſnow of Paropamiſa, Caucaſus, mount Imaus, and the Emodes, or from the great quantity of rains that fell in the months of April, May, and June, it is certain, in that ſeaſon the country was covered with water; and after they had gone off, it was difficult to diſtinguiſh the limits which divided the lands of each individual. To prevent diſputes which might thence ariſe, there were men in all the diſtricts, perfectly well acquainted with thoſe matters, who marked over again thoſe limits of the fields that had been effaced. As they preſerve in Egypt a part of theſe waters in great lakes, to ſpread them afterwards over the land during thoſe months in which there were no rains; it was the office of theſe inſpectors to open theſe repoſitaries when neceſſary, and diſtribute the waters in ſufficient quantity.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the ancient revolutions in INDIA, *from the conquests of* BACCHUS *to those of* ALEXANDER *the* GREAT. *Of the settlement of the* MAHOMEDANS *in* India: *and of the* MOGUL *government. Of the climate of* India, *and its present inhabitants. With some remarks relative to trade.*

IT is certain, that the government of India was always monarchical; that the kings were more numerous there than in any nation of the world; and that some of them had acquired an empire over the rest. But we have no native writers of the country, who have given a succession of their ancient kings; so that it is not surprising it should be entirely unknown to us. Pliny, who had before him different relations, informs us, that the Indians reckoned one hundred and fifty three kings from the invasion of Bacchus to that of Alexander, which were two memorable æras. This number of sovereigns, however, become suspicious, by the exaggeration of the interval which it places between the two conquerors, in reckoning upwards of six thousand four hundred years; unless their years, at least in the primeval ages, were much shorter than ours, as they were among the ancient Egyptians.

FOR want of better lights, we must have recourse to some remarkable revolutions, which occasioned changes in the government of the western part of India. This country has always been the object of emulation to the heroes of Asia, Egypt, and Greece. Ancient tradition informs us, that Bacchus and Hercules carried their arms thither: but as there were several conquerors of that name, authors differ about those who penetrated first into the

the Indies; and after long disquisitions, they leave us in the utmost uncertainties and difficulties upon that point. Yet it appears, that this Bacchus was the son of Semele; though we can decide nothing about Hercules.

Although Arrian calls in question the expedition of Sesostris into these remote provinces, it is so formally attested by others, that we cannot refuse assent to their testimony. Indeed, it was attended with no consequence as to government, that prince not having rendered those nations tributary whom he had subdued, but resting contented with having brought them under his power: nor did his successors even attempt to preserve his conquests. But the expedition of Darius the son of Hystaspes was attended with more real consequences. Confounded at his bad success in the desarts of Scythia, he turned his arms against the Indians, whose country he entered by surprise, reduced them to his obedience, and imposed a large tribute upon the inhabitants, whom he obliged to serve as vassals, and in that quality we find them in the musters of the armies of Xerxes, Ochus, and Darius Codomannus, the last of that monarchy.

It is probable the son of Hystaspes carried his conquests no farther than the river Indus; but Alexander extended his to the Hyphasis, where his troops refused to follow him any farther, and obliged him to return into Persia.

The northern nations of India, although idolaters, were easily induced to embrace Mahomedanism, and are at this day the Affghams or Patans, who figure so much in all the late revolutions of Delhi.

The armies which made the first conquests for the heads of the respective dynasties, or for other incursors, left behind them numbers of the Mahomedans,

homedans, who, ſeduced by a finer climate and a richer country, forgot their own.

The Mahomedan princes of India naturally gave a preference to the ſervice of their own religion; who, from whatever country they came, were of a more vigorous conſtitution than the ſtouteſt of the ſubjected nation; this preference has continually encouraged adventurers from Tartary, Perſia, and Arabia, to ſeek their fortunes under a government, from which they were ſure of receiving greater encouragement than they could expect at home.

From theſe origins, time has formed in India a mighty nation of near ten millions of Mahomedans, whom Europeans call Moors: to them, under the authority of the Great Mogul, the greateſt part of Indoſtan is now ſubject; but although the reigning nation, they are out-numbered by the Indians ten to one.

This inferiority of number has obliged the Mahomedans to leave, in all parts of Indoſtan, many Indian princes in poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſovereignties, which they are permitted to govern without moleſtation, on condition they pay the ſtipulated tribute, and do not infringe any other of the articles of the treaties by which they or their anceſtors have acknowledged the ſovereignty of the Great Mogul. Theſe Indian princes are called Rajas, or kings; and more than one half of the empire is at this day ſubject to theſe princes.

Besides the Indians, who reſide in the territories of the Rajas, there are every where ſeen great numbers of them in thoſe parts of the country, which are immediately ſubject to the Great Mogul, without the interpoſition of an Indian prince to govern them. They are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers of the im-

menſe quantities of linen which are made in the empire; inſomuch, that at a diſtance from the capital cities, the great trading towns, the encampments of armies, and the high roads, it is rare to ſee in the villages or fields a Mahomedan employed in any thing excepting levying contributions, or acting in ſome other reſpect as an officer of the Great Mogul.

Intelligent enquirers aſſert, that there are no written laws among the Indians; but that a few maxims, tranſmitted by tradition, ſupply the place of ſuch a code in the diſcuſſion of civil cauſes; and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occaſions by the good ſenſe of the judge, decides abſolutely in criminal ones. In all caſes derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be truſted with the greateſt confidence; but in caſes of property, in which this relation does not exiſt, as a cunning ſubtil people, they are perpetually in diſputes; and for the want of a written code, the juſtice or injuſtice of the deciſion depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to ſubmit their cauſe to the deciſion of arbitrators choſen by themſelves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the government.

The feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title, and the penſion which accompanies it, acknowledges the great Mogul his heir. No man, from the vizier downwards, has any truſt of importance repoſed in him, but on theſe terms; and, on his deceaſe, the whole of his property that can be found is ſeized for the uſe of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleaſes.

In theſe climates the name of ſnow and froſt is entirely unknown: the trees are never without leaves, and the fruit and bloſſoms alternately ſucceed

ceed each other: but here, as in other countries lying between the tropics, is a dry and wet ſeaſon.

With the month of January returns the heat, which is cooled by breezes of the ſea. The month of February is more hot, dry and unhealthful. In March the winds cool a little the ſcorching heat of the ſun. April is ſtill hotter, and in the months of May and June is a fine ſeaſon; but in which there blows a noxious land breeze, from ſeven in the morning till noon, as hot as the air of a furnace, which the ſtrongeſt conſtitution has enough to do to bear, and Europeans can hardly at all. Some cauſe themſelves to be ſprinkled over from morning till night, to cool the ſcorching heat. Here the nights are as unhealthful as the days. It is no uncommon thing to ſee perſons riſe paralytic, who had laid down in perfect health, in a place expoſed to the evening damps. Such a ſeaſon would deſtroy the fruits of the earth, if amidſt the heats of the month of June, the waters which riſe in the mountains of Gad, did not gradually ſwell. They are at their height in July, at which time the air becomes temperate.

The autumn is the winter of Malabar, which is as moderate as our ſpring. It rains, it is true, very much; but all is green after the ſcorching heat of ſummer is over. The trees bloſſom in September, in which month and in October, is the firſt gathering of fruit, when the air is both cool and perfumed, occaſioned by the aromatic plants in bloſſom, and commonly Europeans find this ſeaſon the moſt healthful. The ſick, indeed, eſpecially hypochondriacs, are principally moſt affected in the months of November and December, when the cold and rains are at their height. In theſe months the Malabares, who go almoſt naked, ſhiver with cold, againſt which they do not know how to ſhelter themſelves, either by cloaths,

or by burning wood, a very ſcarce commodity in this country, where they uſe little elſe, even in their kitchens, than dry cow dung. They are chilly in the ſame degree of heat, in which no Europeans can hardly bear to be covered.

The ſoil is fertile almoſt throughout, occaſioned by the overflowing of the rivers, as Egypt is by that of the Nile. When the heat is moſt intenſe the rivers ſwell, which is apparently occaſioned by the melting of the ſnow in the mountains where they riſe: for the warmeſt climates, as the iſle of St. Thomas and upper Ethiopia, have Alps covered with ſnow and ice. Then the farmers open their ſluices, and each turns his part of the river on his rice grounds. If the rivers fail, the country is all a barren wilderneſs, and the natives die, by thouſands, of famine. This diſaſter is often occaſioned by the animoſities among themſelves, which hinder them from keeping their ſluices in repair.

Here the air is very ſuffocating, and iron ruſts ten times more than in Europe. The ſun gives a ſtronger light at noon than the eyes can bear; even the ſtars ſhine brighter, and Venus has a very ſenſible ſhadow. The twilight is very ſhort, and day and night appear almoſt at the ſame time. Before rain and fog there is commonly heard a hollow but very ſtrong noiſe proceeding from the ſea. There are often ſeen fiery meteors, reſembling comets, but much lower in the air, through which they traverſe very ſwiftly. The winds are ſo ſtrong as to throw down houſes and pluck up trees by the roots; and ſhould any of theſe hurricanes overtake a man in the fields, he muſt lay himſelf along upon the ground.

The natural color of the inhabitants is black: but the Bramins, and generally the Morattoes, are yellowiſh, little differing from a tawniſh Portugueſe.

The chief plant in Malabar is rice, by which alone almoſt the bulk of the people are maintained; it ſerves for bread even to the rich, as corn does not come to perfection. Their agriculture almoſt ſolely conſiſts in the culture of rice, which is reckoned an honorable occupation, and ſuch as follow it have precedence of mechanics. It is ſown in the month of June, in a ſoil that is a mere puddle, occaſioned by the overflowing of the rivers on their grounds. When it is a hand high they take it up, and replant it in juſt ſuch another ſoil. Their harveſt is gathered in the beginning of winter. Their plough is a very ſimple machine, and a branchy bough ſerves for a harrow. When the rice is dry, it is boiled in water or milk, which they eat heartily. They uſe another method, by diſtilling it and extracting an aqua vitæ, which adminiſters to the debaucheries of Europeans: for the natives abhor exceſſive drinking, which muſt ſhorten life, by ſuper-adding a new fire to that of the climate.

It is to be underſtood, that the Engliſh Eaſt India company have the ſole monopoly of trading to the eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope: but this is a very large and uncertain deſcription of their bounds; for as the world is round, they might go to the eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope if no land intervened, till they came unto it again; and at that rate, Chili, Peru, and other parts of America, would be within their monopoly. Therefore this muſt certainly be a vulgar error, and there muſt be other bounds preſcribed by the charter; which probably does not extend to the Molucca iſlands, the ſpice iſlands, or the Philippines; for I do not find that, ſince the act of parliament, the company ever traded to any of thoſe places; and yet the advantage would be very great.

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We may therefore ſuppoſe, their monopoly does not extend to New Guiney, New Britain, the iſle Sabada, and other iſlands which captain Dampier ſailed round in one of the men of war, and on which he landed about the year 1700, and where he met with gold, nutmegs, and other valuable things. For the ſame reaſon one alſo might ſuppoſe, that Corea and Japan are not within the company's charter, becauſe they never traded to either of them, ſince the act of parliament.

These various regions afford the richeſt commodities, gold, jewels, ſpices, pearls, and drugs, of the moſt valuable kind. The Eaſt India trade is of ſuch conſequence, that the higheſt regard ſhould be paid to it: for if this trade was enlarged, it would encreaſe ſuch a demand for woollen goods, iron ware, and every other branch of buſineſs in England, as would employ all the manufacturers, who are now ſtarving, and thereby relieve the poor.

This might be demonſtrated, by the many places that are not yet traded to by the Engliſh. The company trades in the Red Sea but to one port, that is, Moca; but the Abyſſinian empire, or Ethiopia, which lies on the weſt ſide of that ſea, is not attempted to be traded to, although it is inhabitated by chriſtians, and abounding with gold, myrrh, ſena, alloes, avit, and numbers of rich dying and medicinal drugs, with other commodities. They have no iron nor woollen goods, but what are carried to them over land from Egypt or Turkey, and are moſtly manufactured by the French, or at Damaſcus.

The company doth not trade to Siam, a rich and great kingdom; nor to Pegu, a kingdom that produces rubies, gum-lac, gum-dragon, and all the materials of the fine Indian varniſh: the

the inhabitants are very induſtrious, and great trade might be made there. Tonquin is alſo a kingdom full of induſtrious people; and the kingdom of Cochin-China would give vent to a great number of commodities. The kingdom of Corea, and the empire of Japan, are included among the richeſt in the world; yet with theſe our Eaſt India company have no commerce; though thoſe countries abound in raw-ſilk, gold, ſilver, ſpice-goods, tea, porcelain, Japan, and other things fit for European markets. Thoſe many ſpice iſlands unpoſſeſſed by the Dutch, and ſome of the Philippines unſubjected by the Spaniards, are a glorious field of induſtry for the Engliſh; numbers of adventurers might make their fortunes by ſuch a trade; hundreds of ſhips be employed; and immenſe ſums brought home in gold, ſilver, and rich goods in payment for our manufactures.

It is neceſſary for us to think of theſe things; for if we do not, other nations will!

END OF VOLUME THE FIRST.